EARLY VOYAGES

UP AND DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI,

BY

CAVELIER, ST. COSME, LE SUEUR,
GRAVIER, AND GUIGNAS.

With an Introduction, Notes, and an Index,

By JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

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TO THE

MICHIGAN, WISCONSIN, AND IOWA

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES,

AS A TOKEN OF MEMBERSHIP,

THIS VOLUME IS OFFERED

BY

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

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PREFACE.

THE Narratives collected in this Volume form a Sequel to thoſe Accounts already publiſhed of the Explorations under Marquette and La Salle, and refer chiefly to the Moment of the permanent French Occupation of the Lower Miſſiſſippi. They are derived from various Sources. The Journal of Mr. John Cavelier, La Salle's Brother, though ſpoken of by Joutel, remained unpubliſhed till Mr. Francis Parkman allowed me to Print it from a Manuſcript in his Poſſeſſion. The Letters of Mr. de Montigni of the Seminary of Quebec and his Aſſociates, I owe to

the Kindneſs of the ſame Friend. Le Sueur's Voyage is taken from Bénard de la Harpe, already in Print. The Voyage of Gravier is from the limited Edition printed from the Manuſcript in the Profeſſed Houſe in Paris. The Letter of Father Guignas, detailing as it does the Eſtabliſhment of Fort Beauharnais at Lake Pepin, was furniſhed to me by the Kindneſs of J. Carſon Brevoort, Eſq.

While this Volume was printing, Col. Delafield ſent me Tomaſſy's Géologie Pratique de la Louiſiane, *which I had been unable to procure here in Seaſon, and from it I extracted the Letter of La Salle's given in the Appendix, and which refers directly to the firſt Article.*

New York, 1861.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY a river lives embalmed in hiſtory and in hiſtorick verſe. The Euphrates, the Nile, the Jordan, the Tiber and the Rhine typify the courſe of empires and dynaſties. Countries have been deſcribed *per flumina*, but theſe ſtreams poſſeſs renown rather from ſome city that frowned on their currents, or ſome battle fought and won on their banks. The great River of our Weſt, from its immenſe length and the ſtill increaſing importance of its valley, poſſeſſes a hiſtory of its own. Its diſcovery by the Spaniſh adventurers, a Cabeza de Vaca, a de Soto, a Triſtan, who reached, croſſed, or followed it, is its period of early romance, brilliant, brief, and tragick. Its exploration by Marquette and La Salle follows, work of patient endurance and

inveſtigation, ſtill tinged with that light of heroiſm that hovers around all who ſtruggle through difficulty and adverſity to attain a great and uſeful end. Then come the early voyages depicting the ſucceſſive ſtages of its banks from a wilderneſs to civilization.

The death of La Salle in Texas in his attempt to reach Illinois cloſes the chapter of exploration. Iberville opens a new period by his voyage to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which crowning the previous efforts gave the valley of the great river to civilization, Chriſtianity and progreſs. The river had become an object of rivalry. Engliſh, French and Spaniſh at the ſame moment ſought to ſecure its mouth, but fortune favored the bold Canadian, and the white flag reared by La Salle was planted anew.

Here our narratives begin. Cavelier's is a page of the previous chapter; with ſtrange details and doubtful authenticity, marked, like every other account of La Salle's career, with a note of ſuſpicion, yet curious and ſtrange. Did La Salle actually reach the Miſſiſſippi prior to his death, as here aſſerted? We may doubt it.

After Cavelier and Joutel reached Illinois to deceive Tonti by repreſenting La Salle as alive, that

noble veteran deſcended the river to relieve his commander, but in vain.

Traders then doubtleſs drifted down to barter for furs, but we have no narrative till that of the miſſionary party led by M. de Montigny, who in 1698 ſet out to evangelize the tribes of the lower Miſſiſſippi. Impetuous, ardent, but eaſily diſcouraged, the leader ſoon loſt heart, and involved in diſputes which he did not foreſee, ſought a remote field in Aſia for his zeal, to be plunged in troubles even more vexatious. But his companions remained to labor on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, St. Coſme to die at laſt by the hand of the red man, Davion and de la Source to labour and to wait.

Iberville arrives. His narrative would here find a place, but it is a volume in itſelf. The news of his landing ſpread from tribe to tribe. The northern nations, led by the golden promiſes of La Salle, expected all bleſſings from this ſtep. The Illinois prepared to move in a body to the lower Miſſiſſippi. Gravier checks their mad project and floats down in his canoe to ſee how matters are. His journal, like the letters of St. Coſme and his companions, deſcribe the river and the tribes upon it, as he found them at this important moment in the hiſtory

of the river. His next voyage down was to ſeek in the new colony ſurgical aſſiſtance for wounds which the medicine men had inflicted, and which baffling the ſkill of the phyſician proved fatal to the miſſionary.

Beſides Iberville's own account and as a pendant to it, comes the voyage from the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi to the Blue Earth, effected in canoe by the intrepid Le Sueur. Fortunately Bénard de la Harpe has preſerved this, and it blends with the others to give a complete picture of the river.

Then for ſome years itineraries of the Miſſiſſippi fail us, and we have accounts of portions only. The Urſulines deſcribe briefly the voyage to New Orleans, others do the ſame; an officer in the Chickaſaw war details day by day the march up the river to Fort Aſſumption. The letter of Guignas follows in part the track of Le Sueur, and records the planting of Fort Beauharnais.

At the moment when theſe narratives take us to the valley of the Miſſiſſippi that immenſe territory preſented a ſtrange contraſt to its preſent condition. From its head waters amid the lakes of Minneſota to its mouth; from its weſtern ſprings in the heart of the Rocky mountains to its eaſtern cradle in the

Alleghanies, all was yet in its primeval ſtate. The Europeans had but one ſpot, Tonty's little fort; no white men roamed it but the trader or the miſſionary. With a ſparſe and ſcattered Indian population, the country, teeming with buffalo, deer and game, was a ſcene of plenty. The Indian has vaniſhed from its banks with the game that he purſued. The valley numbers as many ſtates now as it did white men then; a buſy, enterpriſing, adventurous population, numbering its millions, has ſwept away the unprogreſſive and unaſſimilating red man. The languages of the Illinois, the Quapaw, the Tonica, the Natchez, the Ouma, are heard no more by the banks of the great water; no calumet now throws round the traveller its charmed power; the white banner of France floated long to the breeze, but with the flag of England and the ſtandard of Spain all diſappeared we may ſay within a century. For fifty years, one ſingle flag met the eye, and appealed to the heart of the inhabitants of the ſhores of the Miſſiſſippi. Two now divide it: let us hope that the altered flag may ſoon reſume its original form, and meet the heart's warm reſponſe at the mouth as at the ſource of the Miſſiſſippi.

I.

CAVELIER'S ACCOUNT

OF

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE

TO THE

MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, HIS LANDING IN TEXAS, AND MARCH TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

RELATION
OF
M. CAVELIER.[1]

MONSEIGNEUR:

You have here the Relation of the Voyage undertaken by my brother[2] to diſcover in the Gulf of Mexico the Mouth of the Miſſiſſipy. An unexpected and tragical death having prevented his completing it, and reporting to your Lordſhip, you will, I truſt, approve of my taking his place. July, 1684.

1 The Rev. John Cavelier, brother of La Salle, was born at Rouen. Of his early life and entrance into the community of St. Sulpice, I find no account. After the death of his brother, he with Joutel and Father Anaſtatius made his way to Canada, and thence to France, concealing the fate of La Salle, it is ſaid, for upwards of two years. He applied to the Court to ſend out a new expedition, and failing in this he retired to Rouen, to the houſe of his ſiſter, Mary Magdalen Cavelier, wife of the Sieur Fortin or Le Foreſtier, Secretary to the King, and died there after 1717.

2 Robert Cavelier de la Salle, was born at Rouen in Normandy, of a rich and ancient family, and after receiving a good education entered the King's ſervice. The ſtatement made by the late edi-

July 1684. **In the month of July, 1684,[3] we left la Rochelle in four veſſels with very fine weather. The ſeaſon ſeemed to promiſe us a continuance thereof, and ſhould not in all probability lead us to fear either**

tions of Hennepin, that he entered the Society of Jeſus and thus loſt his ſhare in his father's eſtate, ſeems, like other ſtatements of that work, unreliable. An examination of all the annual catalogues of all the French provinces of the epoch, ſhows no ſuch name among the novices or ſcholaſtics. The preceding note and this narrative mention all his relatives of whom any account is given. He came to Canada about 1668, and an apparently apocryphal account makes him ſoon after diſcover and deſcend the Ohio (ſee Duſſieux, Le Canada ſous le domination Francaiſe). As a trader he voyaged extenſively on the Lakes, and built a trading houſe at La Chine, which owes its name to him, an index of his deſires. His firſt official employment was to viſit the Senecas, and invite them to a general Congreſs of the tribes. He had gained the good will of Frontenac and propoſed to him vaſt plans of diſcovery and trade, which received his ſanction. The French Court in 1675, granted him Fort Frontenac and the ſeigneury, on condition of keeping it in repair, maintaining a garriſon and clearing the land. He obtained alſo a patent of nobleſſe. For a time he puſhed forward trade and colonization at Fort Frontenac (now Kingſton) and built the firſt veſſel that ever ploughed the ſurface of Lake Ontario. Obtaining new grants in 1678, he puſhed on to Niagara, built a veſſel there, and again the pioneer of weſtern navigation, ſailed through Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron to Mackinac. Sending back his veſſel with a load of furs, he proceeded in canoes to the Illinois country, building a fort on the St. Joſeph's river, and another on the Illinois, whoſe name, Crevecœur, records his deſpondency at receiving no tidings of his bark or ſupplies from Frontenac. Left unſupported, he returned by land to his fort on Lake Ontario; but while abſent his party were driven from the Illinois by the Senecas, and La Salle on his arrival at Fort Crèvecœur found it deſerted. After ſome ſearch he joined Tonty at Mackinaw. Here reorganizing his party he deſcended the Illinois to the Miſſiſſippi, and followed that river to its mouth, which he reached April 9, 1682. Returning to France, he ſought to make the mouth of the river by ſea. He failed to diſcover it, was abandoned in Texas, and in an attempt to reach Canada, was killed by his own men, March 19, 1687. See his Life by Sparks, vol I. N. S. American Biography, "The Diſcovery and Exploration of the Miſſiſſippi," &c.

3 In another Memoir he gives the date as July 23 or 24.

a calm or great heats. Nevertheleſs the cloſe of the month brought a ſtorm, which diſmaſted the veſſel[4] my brother was in, and compelled us all to put back to the port from which we had ſtarted.[5] We ſet ſail again, and a few days after a ſecond ſtorm diſperſed our little fleet; the St. François[6] was taken by Spaniſh cruiſers, and the other three got together only at Petit Goave in St. Domingo. I will not give your Lordſhip the detail of our courſe or manœuvres to that point, as that is not my profeſſion. July, 1684.

If theſe unfortunate accidents damped the ardor of our adventurers, the conduct of Mr. de Beaujeu, Captain of a ſhip of the line,[7] who commanded one of the ſhips of the fleet, did ſo no leſs; and if your Lordſhip takes pains to examine, you will find that that officer, jealous of my brother's having the principal authority and the direction of the enterpriſe, ſo traverſed it, that the failure may be attributed to him.[8]

4 This veſſel was le Joli, commanded by Mr. de Beaujeu, the Commander of the fleet, whoſe perverſeneſs cauſed the ruin of all concerned. Joutel, p. 15, and Cavelier, in another Memoir, hint that the breaking of the foremaſt was planned.

5 Joutel ſays they put in at Rochefort, p. 15. Father Le Clercq ſays at Chef-de-bois, which agrees with Cavelier; Chef-de-bois being the roadſtead before la Rochelle.

6 This Ketch contained proviſions and agricultural implements for the colony, and the loſs was conſequently a ſerious one.

7 Joutel and Cavelier, in another Memoir, dilate on the trouble with Beaujeu, and Cavelier there introduces a particular account of La Salle's dangerous illneſs at St. Domingo.

8 The French diſtinguiſh as different ranks Captain of a frigate and Captain of a man-of-war or ſhip of the line.

July, 1684. We made ſome ſtay at Petit Goave to give our crew a little refreſhment and to prepare to carry out the project conveniently. There Mr. de Beaujeu began to employ all means that he could invent to prevent my brother from going further; nevertheleſs we ſet ſail towards the latter part of November, intending to reconnoitre the land ten or twenty leagues north of the mouth of the river, but head winds having forced us to put back ſeveral times; my brother at laſt determined to explore Florida, whatever point we made, but Mr. de Beaujeu did not follow him. He abandoned us, under pretext of having been ſurpriſed by a ſquall.

1685. On the ſixth of January,[9] we made the coaſt of Florida, and ſuppoſing ourſelves north of the mouth of the river, we ſailed ſoutherly along the coaſt, crowding ſail, for fear of being forced by the currents into Bahama channel. Some days after, on taking the altitude, we found ourſelves fifty leagues ſouth, which obliged us to turn back and retrace our ſteps. Still coaſting along, we[a] diſcovered Eſpiritu Santo Bay,[10] where we found Mr. de Beaujeu; my brother had a long conference with him there, at the cloſe of which the three veſſels ſet ſail to purſue the ſearch.

[a] Feb. 4.

The next morning Mr. de Beaujeu ſent his long boat to my brother to tell him that he had ſailed fifty leagues ſince he left Eſpiritu Santo Bay, and that diſcovering inland, a kind of gulf or river, it

9 Joutel, p. 34, makes them reach land in December.

10 Joutel ſays January 8.

might be the Miſſiſſipy, and that he had no orders to go any further; my brother allowed himſelf to be perſuaded that this might be one of the arms of that river; and having ſent out his boat to ſound, he found three and a half fathoms of water in the ſhalloweſt part of the channel, and entered with his veſſel. He ordered the pink to unload as much as poſſible, and to wait till he ſent a pilot to bring her in, but this was ſo badly done that ſhe ſtruck on a ſand bar and could not get off.[11] February, 1685.

Meanwhile Mr. de Beaujeu, who had anchored off, wrote to my brother, and ſent the letter by his lieutenant.[12] He told him, that having reached the mouth of the Miſſiſſipy he believed that he had ſufficiently fulfilled his duty; that having ſeen the pink periſh before his eyes, he did not think it proper to riſk entering the river with his ſhip, for fear of a like miſhap: that having no more proviſions or refreſhments, he was determined to return to France, and he begged him to ſend his letters for the Court, with his exoneration from all the accidents that had happened, or might thereafter happen. My brother moſt generouſly granted all.

Monſieur de Beaujeu having accordingly hoiſted ſail for France,[13] my brother undertook to do three March 14.

[11] Joutel, p. 79, and Le Clercq incline to think the loſs of the *Aimable* intentional on the part of the captain.

[12] The Chevalier d'Aire. Beaujeu took with him the captain and crew of the Aimable, Rev. Mr. Dainmaville and ſome others, and refuſed to give La Salle the cannon and cannon balls in his hold.

[13] Le Clercq ſays the 12th; Joutel from recollection, the 14th.

March, 1685. things at once: one was to make a ſtorehouſe on ſhore to lay up his ammunition and proviſions, merchandiſe and other things; the other was to go himſelf with thirty or forty men to ſelect a ſuitable place for a ſettlement at the end of the bay; and the other to bring his veſſel as far as he could into the bay. All this was executed; for the veſſel was brought up to the mouth of a river to which the name of *Vache*[14] (Cow) was given, on account of the number of that animal found there, and here he built a little fort of fourteen guns, with ſmall but pretty convenient houſes, and ſtorehouſes ſufficient to contain all that we had.[15]

Meanwhile my brother, originally under the idea that the river we were in was one of the arms of the Miſſiſſipy, on account of the quantity of reeds it bore down to the ſea, at laſt ſaw his error and formed the deſign of diſcovering it by land; but unable to leave his fort without expoſing it to the inſults of the neareſt Indians, who were waging a cruel war on us[16a] (believing us Spaniards), he endeavored to gain their confidence and friendſhip.

[a] They killed ten men with arrows.

14 Afterwards called by the Spaniards La Vaca river, which name it ſtill retains, the only name in Texas of La Salle's. The *Vache* here evidently means the Biſon, though in Canada the Vache Sauvage was the Mooſe. Joutel (p. 113) calls it, *Rivière aux Bœufs.*

15 Joutel (p. 126) and Father Anaſtaſius (Diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi, p. 207) both deſcribe this Fort as St. Louis. According to the former it was at 27° N., two leagues from the Bay, near the banks of La Vaca river, which lay north of it, a marſh and hill lying between them.

16 Joutel mentions two by name, Meſſrs. Oris and Deſloges.

Your Lordſhip knows that he has an admirable tact for that. He employed it ſo adroitly in this conjuncture, that before the cloſe of July we mutually viſited each other; we often went to their village,[b 17] which was quite near our fort (which we will in future call Fort of St. Louis Bay),[18] and one day they offered to guide my brother to a neighboring nation, their ally, only about fifteen leagues off, to ſhow him, they ſaid, curious things. My brother accepted their offer, thanked them for the friendſhip they teſtified, and made them ſome preſents; after which ſetting out[19] to the number of twenty-four, accompanied by a troop of Indians, we arrived at a large village, ſurrounded by a kind of wall made with potter's clay and ſand, fortified with little towers at intervals, where we found faſtened to a poſt the arms of Spain engraved on a copper plate, dated 1588. March, 1685.

[b] Theſe Indians are called the Bracamos.

The people welcomed us and ſhowed us ſome hammers and an anvil, two ſmall pieces of iron cannon, a ſmall bronze culverine, ſpearheads, old ſword blades and ſome volumes of Spaniſh comedies; and leading us thence to a little fiſhing hamlet about two leagues off, they ſhowed us a ſecond poſt

17 Theſe Bracamos are not mentioned by name by Joutel. He elſewhere ſpeaks of the Hebahamos; and Barcia (Enſayo Cronologico, p. 294) ſays that the fort was in the territory of the Quelanhubeches and Bahamos. Father Anaſtaſius (Diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi, p. 209) mentions the Bahamos and Quinets as hoſtile nations.

18 St. Louis Bay was called by the Spaniards Eſpiritu Santo Bay, but the part where Fort St. Louis was, is the preſent Matagorda Bay.

19 In October, apparently.

March, 1685. alſo bearing the arms of Spain and ſome old chimneys.[20] All this convinced us that the Spaniards had been there before. They alſo gave us to underſtand by ſigns that the Miſſiſipy River was very difficult to find, becauſe its mouth could not be perceived a league off. They then drew veſſels with coal, and gave us to underſtand that many paſſed along their coaſt.

Having taken leave of theſe Indians, to whom we made ſome preſents and courteſy for courteſy, we returned to our fort at St. Louis Bay, where we made ſome ſtay to cultivate more and more the confidence and friendſhip of our Bracamos (ſo is the Indian nation called that dwells near our fort), in order to leave protectors to the people whom we would have to leave in the fort while we went overland to ſeek the Miſſiſipy.

We obſerved during our ſtay, that the eaſt winds generally prevail by day, and weſt winds by night; that the leaſt ſpeck of cloud forebodes a violent gale, which will laſt an hour at moſt; that the north winds (which the Spaniards there dread immenſely) are not ſo violent as the weſt winds which the fiſhing ſmacks ſtand in winter time on the Banks of Newfoundland; and laſtly that the tide riſes here but very ſlightly. We ſaw quantities of ſalt, formed naturally in various ſpots, which led us to infer that it would be eaſy to make ſucceſſful ſalt works.

[20] Father Morfi in his very full manuſcript Hiſtory of Texas, is ſilent as to any Spaniſh occupation of ſo early a date.

Having then provided for the ſecurity of the fort by the friendſhip of the neighbouring Indians, by arms and ammunition, and for the ſubſiſtence of the people whom we left there by the proviſions and goods which remained, and after my brother had recommended vigilance, patience, and devotion to the King's ſervice, we ſet out on the firſt of November, accompanied by thirty men, carrying only our arms, ammunition for game, and ſome trifling articles for the Indians. March, 1685. Nov. 1. Departure of M. de La Salle to diſcover the mouth of the river by land.

Ten or twelve days after, we found a very populous village, where the men and women wore large pearls hanging from the cartilage between the two noſtrils. I bought a few in order to ſhow your Lordſhip. I have already ſhown them to Catillon, lapidary at Paris, who aſſured me that they were of the fineſt water in the world, but imperfect in ſhape. We tried to learn from theſe Indians the place whence they drew this precious merchandiſe, but being able to underſtand us only by ſigns, we could only preſume that they got them from the ſea when they went to catch fiſh, for they ſhowed us large pirogues and nets which apparently were ſolely for this uſe. We have ſince learned that many ſmall rivers which paſs through their country empty into St. Louis Bay.

Having left this nation, we ran for two months in ſearch of our river with no hope of finding it, finding only Indians whoſe manners kept us in perpetual diſtruſt; we did not dare to make any ſtay in any place for fear of ſome ſurpriſe. The December and January.

February, 1688. continual marching, the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the fears that we had conceived from the reſerved and diſtruſtful manners of the Indians, made us undergo hardſhips, that it would be difficult for me to expreſs.

February, 1688. In the beginning of February we came to a pretty large river, which my brother thought might be the Miſſiſipy, although its courſe was juſt the oppoſite; our ſentiments were different, we followed its banks for two days, without meeting man or beaſt.

Some days after, having perceived a village, we deemed proper to fire a volley before entering, in order to alarm the Indians and put them to flight, ſo as to take from their cabins what Indian corn we needed; this having been executed, we left them the payment on the ſpot, after which we left to continue our ſearch.

We had ſcarcely made a league when we perceived two Indians running after us. We firſt thought the villagers, charmed with the beauty of the knives, ſciſſors and needles that we had left in payment, had deputed them to bring us back, but we were greatly ſurpriſed when we ſaw theſe Indians fall on my brother and almoſt ſtifle him by their embraces in the tranſport of pleaſure which they experienced on ſeeing him again. They were two Shawnees, of three whom my brother loſt when he deſcended to the mouth of the Miſſiſipy by the Ilinois river. They told us that their com-

It was in 1682. rade was ſick in the village, to which they begged us to return, aſſuring us of the humanity and good

faith of the people. My brother was ſincerely pleaſed to find them again, and in hopes of learning from them what he deſired, he made no difficulty of reſolving to follow them. They took us firſt to their cabin, where we found their comrade. They made us take up our quarters there, while a larger cabin was preparing for us near by. February, 1688.

They told us, that having gone out to hunt while in my brother's ſervice, they were ſurrounded and taken by thirty or forty warriors of the village where we were, who carried them there without binding them; that the whole nation, and even their allies, had greatly honoured them and held them for ſomething more than men, on account of the power of their guns; that they wondered to ſee them kill a biſon a hundred paces off, and ſeveral turkeys at a ſingle ſhot, but that when their ammunition failed, theſe people preſſed them to make more and ridiculed them becauſe they had not the ſecret of making it. They alſo told us that they had married in this village, and that they had had no difficulty in learning the language. They then took us to a large cabin where we were conveniently lodged.

It was from theſe three Indians that we learned that we were only forty leagues from the ſea; that the Indians among whom we were made war on others who had intercourſe with the Spaniards, diſtant about 130 leagues from the ſea; that there was a river — leagues from us, more beautiful than the Miſſiſipy, and two others fifteen or twenty leagues,

30 L. They meant the Rio Bravo.

February, 1688. in which gold was found in large grains and in duſt; that the Indians uſed it only to make collars and bracelets, but that they valued it leſs than certain red ſtones which they put to the ſame uſe.

It is the Shawnees that ſpeak. They added: We have been to war againſt the nation that has intercourſe with the Spaniards and took ſome priſoners who were neatly dreſſed in ſilk. They told us that the Spaniards furniſhed them their clothes and many other things in exchange for certain ſtones which they prized highly. They directed us to the ſpot whence they took theſe precious ſtones, and as we could paſs by it, without deviating much from the route we had to take back to our village, we eaſily perſuaded our troop, as curious as ourſelves, to go there. The priſoners acting as guides, we reached a hill which may be two leagues long, where they ſhowed us ſome holes made by the Indians, from which we took[c] ſome ſpecimens of ſtone which we have kept. This hill lies about forty leagues from our village, and is near a little river which empties in a larger one,[d] which coming a great diſtance and paſſing between two ranges of hills empties into the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards have ſeveral villages on the ſouthern part of this river, and the Indians who make war on them, croſs over and make captures along the road,[e] which they frequent with little precaution.

[c] Mr. Cavelier took ſome to Paris, where the body of goldſmiths aſſayed them by the King's order, and found that it was gold ore, which had only half waſte.

[d] Rio Bravo.

[e] Apparently the road from Old to New Mexico.

They aſſured us that there was not a nation for a hundred leagues around but feared the inroads of the Spaniards; that they dreaded them on account of the frightful ſtories told of their fire arms; that

this conſideration alone had prevented their leaguing together to undertake to carry a town, lacking neither deſire, courage nor means of uniting; that for this purpoſe they could bring together one hundred thouſand warriors and ten thouſand horſes, without going fifty leagues from their village; that this army could ſubſiſt, even without ſupplies of proviſions, by the quantity of biſon, ſmall game and fiſh found everywhere, by merely dividing into troops of ten thouſand men, and giving two leagues of land to each troop, and always camping in beautiful prairies with which the country abounds; that even if we wiſhed to lay up proviſions of Indian corn, peas or beans, it could eaſily be done, as the earth produces plentifully without being ſowed or cultivated; and finally, that the country is full of all ſorts of excellent fruit, which would alſo be a great help. They convinced us that they needed only good leaders and ſome regular troops to inſtruct them, arms, ſaddles, bridles and ammunition. On this my brother having aſked them on which ſide they would attack the Spaniards, they replied that it was beyond that great river* of which they had ſpoken to us, where there were ſeveral cities and villages, ſome open and others fortified merely by paliſades, which it would be eaſy to force, the more eaſily as the Indians had often got the upper hand of them; that the year before they had killed or taken over two thouſand perſons and forced them to ſend religious to exhort them to peace. February, 1688.

*Rio Bravo.

They told us moreover that the Spaniards had

February, 1688. more than 30 gold and ſilver mines in different parts of the country which they durſt not work on account of the proximity of nations that they were at war with.

That the climate of the country northward and Rio Bravo. eaſtward of the great river was perfectly beautiful, and ſo healthy that men died there only of old age or ſmall pox; the land ſo fertile, that unſown, untilled, it produced two crops of Indian corn and three of peaſe or beans a year; that they were told that the other ſide of the river was neither fertile nor healthy;

That there was near by a nation that made cloth of nettles, wild flax and the bark of trees, and who manufactured cloth of buffalo wool; that they The Paris dyers were amazed to ſee the quality of this earth. give the fineſt colours in the world to all their fabrics; in fact they gave us earth of all colours, which we took to France; that there were other These were the Paniſmahans and the Ontotonta. nations to the northweſt, who had kings and chiefs and obſerved ſome forms of government, honoring and reſpecting their kings as Europeans do theirs;

Florida, apparently. That there were ſome on the Eaſt ſo fierce, that it had never had any communication with others, and ſo cruel that they devoured each other;

That about fifty leagues from the ſpot where we were, were two or three mountains on the banks of a river, from which were taken red ſtones, as clear as cryſtal. They gave us ſome of it and ſome gold ore which we took to France.

After they had related us all this, my brother wiſhed to induce them to follow him, to return to

their own country; but they anſwered him, that they were not unnatural enough to abandon their wives and children; that moreover being in the moſt fertile, healthy and peaceful country in the world, they would be devoid of ſenſe to leave it and expoſe themſelves to be tomahawked by the Illinois or burnt by the Iroquois on their way to another, where the winter was inſufferably cold, the ſummer without game, and ever in war; but that if the French built or eſtabliſhed any colony in the Miſſiſipy, that they would approach it and that they would have the pleaſure of rendering them conſiderable ſervices. February, 1685.

Towards the cloſe of January we parted from our honeſt Shawnees, who could not accompany us to the Miſſiſipy for fear of being ſuſpected of wiſhing to follow us, but they induced ten or twelve warriors to lead us. On the 10th of March we deſcried the river Miſſiſipy, where we left ſome men in a little redoubt of pickets, which we made ourſelves, and retracing our ſteps, we paſſed again through the village of our Shawnees, where we were regaled as well as theſe good people could regale us, and continuing our march, we reached St. Louis Bay, on the 30th of the month of March, 1685.[21] Return of Mr. de la Salle.

[21] Joutel and Le Clercq are very brief as to this journey of La Salle, whoſe return the former puts in March, the latter May 31, 1686. Joutel denies the ſtatement in the Pſeudo Tonty, that in this expedition La Salle reached the Miſſiſſippi, and remarks: "We muſt however "ſay in behalf of Mr. Tonty, that "he ſtates it only on the report of "Rev. Mr. Cavelier, La Salle's "brother; and the ſaid Cavelier

February, 1688. Our people received us with all poſſible joy, and we experienced much pleaſure to find them all in good health; but our joy was ſoon marred by the moſt diſtreſſing accident in the world; for our frigate, eight or ten days after our arrival, ſtruck and periſhed with all on board except eight men.[22] The loſs which we had ſuſtained of ten men, the beſt ſailors we had on board, who were killed with arrows by the Bracamos at the time they made war on us, ſuppoſing us to be Spaniards, was ſurely the cauſe of the loſs of the veſſel, which perhaps lacked experienced people; in fine, the chagrin that my brother experienced at the loſs, joined to the hardſhips which we had undergone during our painful march, brought on a malady which nearly took him out of the world, and overwhelmed our little party with deſpair. In fact, my Lord, after the loſs of the veſſel, which deprived us of our only means of returning to France, we had no reſource for our ſubſiſtence except my brother's good management and firmneſs, and each of us regarded his death as his own, for we beheld ourſelves caſt away in a ſavage country, without aſſiſtance and cut off by immenſe diſtances from every Chriſtian nation.

"may have reaſons for pretending "that they diſcovered the Miſſiſſippi "in the ſame view that obliged him "to conceal his brother's death." p. 5. Le Clercq in the *Etabliſſement de la Foi* (ſee Shea's *Diſc. of the Miſſiſſippi*, p. 195) ſays: "At "laſt, on the 13th of February, "1686, he thought that he had found "the river, he fortified a place, "left a part of his men and with "nine others continued to explore "a moſt beautiful country."

22 For the loſs of the Belle, ſee Joutel, 140.

My brother recovered ... laſt, and when his health was perfectly reſtored, he propoſed to undertake to reach Canada by land, ſo as to come to France to report what he had done. The way is long, painful and dangerous beyond all that can be expreſſed to the contrary, ſo the leaſt hardy durſt not undertake it. Theſe my brother left in charge of the fort, with neceſſary proviſions, commending them to remain ſtrongly attached to the king's ſervice. He formed a party of thoſe who were diſpoſed to follow him. Father Athanaſius, my nephew Moranget, my brother's godſon, two Shawnee Indians, who had followed my brother to France, and I, were of the party. February, 1688.

We ſtarted on the 13th of April, 1685,[23] and laid our route ſo as to paſs by the Illinois, where we had reſolved to reſt. It ſeems to me unneceſſary to ſpeak here of the minutiæ of our march, and I will merely ſay in general the moſt remarkable things that we ſaw and obſerved. 1685, April 13. 1ſt Departure of Mr. de la Salle for Canada, by the Illinois.

We were very kindly and affectionately received by all the nations that we paſſed through. We had plenty every where; we received preſents and were ſupplied with guides and horſes. Among theſe nations, the Senis[24] ſeem to us the moſt nu- Senis, a very civilized nation, of Indians.

23 Father Anaſtaſius (not Athanaſius) in Le Clercq details this expedition. The real date is 1686.

24 The Senis or Cœnis are called Aſſinais by the Spaniſh writers. According to Father Morfi, in his *Memorias para la Hiſtoria de la Provincia de Texas*, they were one of the tribes compriſed under the general name of Texas, which beſides the Texas proper and the Aſſinais, included the Navedachos, the Nagcodoches, the Nacogdoches, the Nadocogs, the Ahijitos, the Cadogdachos and Naſſonis, all ſpeaking

February, 1688. merous and poliſhed; it is governed by a King or Cacique, and the ſubordination that we remarked among them made us infer that they had officers; the houſes are built with order and very prettily, and they have the art of making a cloth of feathers and the hair of animals. We found there ſilver lamps, old muſkets and Spaniſh ſword blades. Having aſked them by ſigns where they got them, they took a coal and depicted a Spaniard, houſes, ſteeples, and ſhowed us the part of the heaven under which New Mexico would lie.

On leaving this village, my brother, our nephew and three ſoldiers were greatly troubled by certain ſtrange fruits of which they had eaten too freely. They all took the fever, which did not leave them till two months afterward. My brother was ſo affected and weakened by it that we did not dare to proceed, but retracing our ſteps returned after forty days to the fort in St. Louis Bay,[25] where we

Mr. de la Salle arrives at the Fort of St. Louis Bay.

the ſame language. Father Anaſtaſius repreſents the town of the Senis as extending for ſome ſixty miles in "hamlets of ten or twelve cabins, "forming cantons each with a dif- "ferent name." He probably includes all the above tribes. "Their "cabins," ſays he, "are fine, forty "or fifty feet high, of the ſhape of "bee hives. They plant trees in "the ground and tie them together "by the upper branches, and cover "it with dry graſs. The beds are "ranged around the cabin, three or "four feet from the ground, the fire "is in the middle, and each cabin "holds two families."

25 (October, 1686). This exploration is here vaguely deſcribed. Father Anaſtaſius details it however. Mr. Sparks ſays, "It may "be aſſumed as certain, that he "croſſed the three large rivers, "Colorado, Brazos and Trinity; "the firſt not many miles above the "preſent town of Montezuma; and "the ſecond as far above the town "of Waſhington . . . The journey "terminated beyond the Naſſonis,

were received with all poſſible joy by our people and by the Bracamos, who came firſt to viſit us and brought us a quantity of deer. February, 1688.

The attempts which we had made to go to Canada not having ſucceeded, we turned our hopes to the aid that the King might ſend us from France, and we patiently awaited it till the cloſe of the year 1686; but at laſt weary of being deprived of the ſociety of our countrymen, and baniſhed as it were to the uttermoſt parts of the earth, we regarded this agreeable country only as a tedious reſting place and a perpetual priſon, feeling ſatiſfied that had not the King deemed us loſt, he would have had the goodneſs to ſend ſome one to continue the exploration which we had undertaken, or to carry us back to France. We often made vague conjectures, which ſerved only to afflict us, and at laſt when the beginning of 1686[26] came, my brother propoſed to make a ſecond attempt. As all minds were full of the deſire of again beholding France, his eloquence was required only to perſuade ſome of our people to remain in the fort. He portrayed to them the hardſhips and dangers to be encountered; the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting if they all went together on ſo long a march, with no reſource but hunting. He ſucceeded ſo well that a part determined to keep the fort, and my brother took only 28[27] of the moſt

"probably about midway between "the Trinity and Red River, near "the head waters of the Sabine, "and fifty or sixty miles northweſt "of Nacogdoches." (*Life of La Salle*, p. 152.)

26 (1687).

27 Anaſtaſius ſays twenty: Joutel, ſeventeen.

February, 1688. vigourous, among them Father Athanaſius, our nephews Cavelier and Moranget, my brother's godſon, the pilot of his veſſel and myſelf.

Second attempt to reach Canada by land. We ſtarted on the 6th of January[28] (after hearing Maſs and performing our devotions, and exhorting the people who remained to watch the ſafe keeping of the fort, promiſing ſoon to return with help from France), and went to ſleep at the village of the Bracamos.

The 7th we made 5 or 6 leagues progreſs through canes and reeds.

The 8th we made alſo 5 or 6 leagues in more clear and level country.

The 9th we arrived at the village of the Kouaras,[29] where we tarried two days. There we ſaw a party of 7 or 800 warriors, who were bringing in one hundred and fifty priſoners in triumph; we ſaved ſome who were going to be caſt into the water bound hand and foot.

The 12th we croſſed a river on a raft with much riſk. The fear that we had experienced was not yet diſſipated when all at once a band of Indians, ruſhing deſperately on us, revived it in a ſtill more intenſe degree; but theſe good people far from harming us, took us to their cabins where they gave us ſeveral kinds of meat to eat, and offered us pipes and tobacco; while we were engaged in

28 Father Anaſtaſius agrees with Cavelier, but Joutel ſays the 12th.

29 Father Anaſtaſius (*Diſc. of the Miſſiſippi*, p. 211), mentions this viſit to the Quaras, who are perhaps the Xaranames of Father Morfi.

ſmoking, they began to ſing and dance in a very curious manner, and ſtopped only when we departed. We made ſix leagues that day. February, 1688.

The 15th we reſumed our march, although our good and honeſt hunters made every effort to keep us at leaſt till next day. They gave us an eſcort of twelve men who accompanied us 4 leagues from the village, and confided us to other hunters who treated us in the ſame manner as the firſt during the two days that we were in company.

The 16th we marched 6 or 7 leagues in beautiful prairies, ſtudded with little groves at intervals, and at evening we encamped on the banks of a little ſtream.

The 17th in the morning, when about to march, we perceived 150 Indians, all on horſeback, armed with lances tipped with ſharpened bone well tied and enchaſed, each of whom attacked a bull. No ſooner had they perceived us when ſome of them left the party and came to welcome us after diſmounting. They at firſt regarded us with aſtoniſhment and after having examined us, they uttered extraordinary exclamations. They then made us mount, the more conveniently to witneſs the cloſe of the bull-fight, which ſeemed to us the moſt diverting thing imaginable, and I am convinced that there is no chaſe as curious in Europe. When the combat was ended by the death of ſeveral animals, the combatants came galloping to us and giving many tokens of ſurprize and joy at meeting us, they led us away

February, 1688. to their village. Their frank and cordial manners made us follow them without repugnance. They often uttered the word *Kanoutinoa*, pointing to themſelves; this made us ſuppoſe that it was the name of the nation.[30] They took us ſtraight to the cabin of their great chief or capᵗⁿ, where they firſt waſhed our heads, hands and feet with warm water; after which they preſented us boiled and roaſt meat to eat, and an unknown fiſh, cooked whole, that was ſix feet long, laid in a diſh of its length. It was of a wonderful taſte and we preferred it to meat. They told us by ſigns that they were abundant and came from a diſtance aſcending the river.

We bought at this place thirty horſes, which mounted us all and carried our baggage. They coſt us thirty knives, ten hatchets, and ſix dozen needles. On the 19th we croſſed the river on their boats and our horſes ſwam over. We made that day four or five leagues and encamped on a ſpot where there was graſs to paſture our horſes, which we tied to good ſtakes.

On the 20th, about two leagues from the ſpot where we had paſſed the night, we found quite a well beaten path; we followed it becauſe it ran in the direction in which we had reſolved to go. We ſaw there four old women and four young girls who paſſed by us weeping and tearing their hair,

30 Father Anaſtaſius mentions their viſiting the Quanoatinno on the river which La Salle ſtyled the Maligne (Colorado), but Joutel merely ſays that they heard of the Canohatinno.

without having curioſity enough to look at us. This ſeemed to us an ill omen, but we paid no great attention to it. The next moment we ſaw a crowd coming towards us; we firſt put ourſelves in a ſtate of defence, prepared for all hazards; but theſe people, inſtead of approaching us, fled, and we purſued our way, and in the evening reached a village the cabins of which were made of canes interlaced and whitened with very fine plaſter. The Indians in alarm took flight, but ſeeing that we encamped near their village without doing them any harm, and that we made them ſigns to return, they gradually approached us, and finally ventured to enter our tents of graſs and branches of trees. We made them ſome little preſents. The next day they took us to their village. It ſeems to me that they ſaid they were called Ticapanas.[31] They brought us one of their number who ſpoke Spaniſh, and ſome boys whom we had in our party acting as interpreters, we learned many things from him which I will relate to your Lordſhip in the collection of memoirs of my brother. January, 1687. Indians ſpeaking Spaniſh.

On the 22d we continued our march, and after fording the river, led by five Indians, we entered a valley (five leagues from our ſtarting point) which, though it was mid winter, was full of fruit trees, flowers and a prodigious quantity of birds of various kinds. We encamped there in a favourable poſition to paſs the night, while our Indians came back

[31] The Tyakappan of Father Anaſtaſius.

January 1687. from the hunt loaded with turkeys. They gave us a long account of this valley, but we could not underſtand a word of it.

On the 23d they took us to the great village of the Palomas,[32] which is ſurrounded by paliſades of cane. Our guides were there queſtioned about us. We inferred that they anſwered that we had not the air of being Spaniards; we do not know what they believed, for they lodged us in a great cabin outſide the village, where they brought us more than thirty handſome maidens of their village. We pointed up to heaven, making ſigns that it was an execrable cuſtom, but not underſtanding us, they thought that we were talking of the ſun, for they inſtantly placed their hands on their foreheads and fell flat on the ground looking up to it, and the young men uttered fearful cries, ſeeing that we fled from the perſecution of theſe wantons. This nation ſeemed to us more groſs and ill made than the others.

On the 24th we left it and wiſhed their canoes to croſs a large river, that ran at the foot of their village, but they adviſed us to aſcend the river, giving us to underſtand by ſigns that we would infallibly be killed on the other ſide if we croſſed the river. We could not learn whether they were beaſts or men that we had to fear. They gave us a periaugua in which we put 20 men and the 8 others took the horſes by land. After five days ſailing and marching, we ſaw ſome Indians fiſhing, and although there were only ſeven or eight of them,

[32] The Palonas of Father Anaſtaſius.

inſtead of fleeing they ran up to receive us. We recognized them as a nation called *Alakea*, among whom we had paſſed the firſt time we were in the nation of the *Senis*. They took us to their village where we were received with all poſſible affection. They kept us among them 6 days, and then having aided us to croſs the river in little boats of buffalo ſkins ſewed together, they took us to the village of the *Akaſquy*, who knowing us by reputation, were glad to have us paſs by their village. At this place we ſaw about ſixty hermaphrodites, for the moſt of them go entirely naked after ſunſet. We there alſo ſaw them make cloth with buffalo wool, and a ſtuff which ſeemed to us the richeſt in the world, ſo ſingular was it, for it is made of birds' feathers and the hair of animals of every colour. January, 1687.

On the 27th we ſtarted from the *Akaſquy* to go to the *Penoy*, where we arrived on the 29th.

On the 30th we went to ſleep at the village of *Saſſory*,[33] where we were received with the ſame friendſhip as in the others. We remained there one day, and we had the pleaſure of ſeeing an alligator, twelve feet long, captured. The Indians employed a hook made of a buffalo bone tied to the end of a cord, ſtudded with ſmall bones ſo that he cannot bite it through, and they uſe no bait but

33 The Alakea are apparently the Palaqueſſon of Anaſtaſius and the Palaquechaune of Joutel. Neither Anaſtaſius nor Joutel mentions the Penoy, Saſſory, Tipoy and Anamis, and Morſi throws no light on any of theſe tribes, unleſs the Saſſory are the Aſſonis. At this point Cavalier's narrative becomes irreconcileable with Joutel and Father Anaſtaſius. Joutel, p. 213, makes them reach the Cenis after La Salle's death.

January, 1687. a piece of meat on the hook. The Indians who wiſhed to amuſe themſelves with it, put out its eyes and led it into a prairie, after tying its head to its tail, and tying it around the body with three different cords made of bark of trees and paſſed around in ſlip knots; and after tormenting it in various ways for full four hours, they turned it belly up and confined it from head to tail by eight ſtakes, planted ſo that the animal could not move in any direction. In this condition they flayed him, and then gave him liberty to run, to have the pleaſure of tormenting him more. This ſport laſted all day, and ended with the death of this frightful beaſt, which they killed and gave to their dogs. We ſaw many ſkins of this animal thrown about, which made us infer that there were many in that river. We croſſed it however by the help of the Indians, who having led us to the river bank and yelled for half an hour to frighten and drive off theſe animals, ſwam over after putting us in a canoe; our horſes accuſtomed to follow us everywhere like dogs alſo ſwam over.

Feb. 1. On the evening of the 1ſt of February we reached the village of the *Tipoy*, where the people, otherwiſe well made, have the top of the head quite flat, cauſed by the mothers putting on their children's heads flat pieces of wood lined with wool, which by a gentle preſſure give them this ſhape.

On the 2d, Candlemas day, we left this village led by a *Tipoy* Indian, and on the 3d we reached the village of our good friends the *Anamis*, who had

hoſpitably received us on our previous excurſion. We had the chagrin to find their village half burnt down. They gave us to underſtand by ſigns that a hoſtile party which ſurprized them, had ſpread this deſolation, and that they would have burnt it all, had they not alarmed them by firing on them with two guns and ſome ammunition that we had left them; that never having ſeen or heard of ſuch arms, the fear they inſpired put them to flight. February, 1687.

On the 4th we ſet out, and on the 8th we arrived at the great village of the *Senis*. This is a nation that occupies a territory eighteen leagues long. We were received at the entrance of the village and conducted to a large and beautiful cabin, where we were at firſt entertained with a right curious ſymphony. The chiefs ſupped with us, and we repoſed more tranquilly there than we had any where elſe.

On the 9th, after a crowd of young men had danced a dance of joy in our cabin, we were taken to that of the prince, for whom they have all poſſible veneration, ſubmiſſion and reſpect; for when he went abroad he was borne by eight men on a platform, all the tribe ranged in two lines, both hands on the forehead, uttering a cry of joy or humility; if he went on foot, very clean mats were ſpread wherever he was to paſs.

We left this village for fear that our ſoldiers ſhould tamper with the women, and went to encamp about two leagues off, intending to ſtay to reſt and recruit. The people of the country made

February, 1687. us ſufficiently exact maps of the neighbouring rivers and nations. They told us that they knew the Spaniards, and depicted to us their clothing and ſhowed us candleſticks, ſwords, bucklers, daggers and Spaniſh papers. We are convinced that they are not far off, the more ſo as the Senis have a number of fine horſes.

On the 16th we left this great village for a ſmaller one of the ſame nation, 20 l. off. Thirty well mounted young warriors took us by as well beaten a road as that from Paris to Orleans. At intervals we came to little forts in the moſt expoſed poſitions, and every where a moſt level country extremely well adapted to paſturage.[34]

34 Cavalier's narrative here ends abruptly. His brother's death occurred ſoon after, and we unfortunately have not his account of it. With Joutel and Father Anaſtaſius he reached Canada and proceeded to France. Thoſe left in Texas periſhed by the hands of the Caranacagues. The cannon of the fort long remained the only monument of La Salle in Texas. Uſed againſt Indian, Mexican, Spaniard and American, they were ſtill at Goliad, in 1838.— *Yoakum's Hiſt. of Texas*, i, 22.

II.

VOYAGE DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1699.

BY THE REV. MESSRS.

MONTIGNY, ST. COSME, DAVION AND THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE.

LETTER

OF

J. F. BUISSON ST. COSME,[1]

MISSIONARY PRIEST,

TO THE BISHOP [OF QUEBEC].

Monſeigneur:

THE laſt that I had the honour to write to you was from Michillimakinac, whence we ſet out on the 14th of September, and went by land to overtake our canoes, which had gone round Pointe aux Irroquois, and ſo on to the Outduaois village to wait for us. This village is of about 300 men. Would to

1 JOHN FRANCIS BUISSON DE ST. COSME. This clergyman, whoſe intereſting letter follows, was a native of Quebec, and a zealous miſſionary, who never abandoned the labor on which he entered till he ſank under the murderous blows of the ſavage. He was a ſon of Michael Buiſſon or Byſſon, a native of St. Coſme le Vert in the dioceſe of Mans, and of Suzanne de Liceraſſe, and was born at Pointe Levis, January 30, 1667. Devoting himſelf to the ſervice of the altar, he was tonſured Auguſt 22, 1688, when a little over twenty-one, and ordained prieſt on Candlemas day, 1690. He was not the only prieſt in his

God that they reſponded to the care and labour which the Reverend Jeſuit Fathers beſtow on their inſtruction, but they ſeem leſs advanced in Chriſtianity than the Illinois, who have only recently, they ſay, had miſſionaries.

We left this village, Sept. 15th, eight canoes, four for the River of the Miamis, with the Sieur de Vincennes,[2] and we three canoes, and Mr. Tonty,[3] who as I have already told you in my laſt,

family, his brother Michael choſe the ſame life, and after ſpending ſome time at Tamarois before his ordination, returned to Canada and died Curé of Sainte Foy, February 18th, 1712, in the 15th year of his prieſthood, preceding by leſs than a month their couſin John Francis Buiſſon (a ſon of Gervaſe, their father's brother), who died on the 15th March, 1712, in the 29th year of his prieſthood, and being at his death one of the canons of the church of Quebec. The author of this narrative details the commencement of their labors on the Miſſiſſippi. He was ſtationed firſt at Tamarois, but removed very ſoon to the Natchez, among whom he labored earneſtly till he was maſſacred by a party of Sitimaches while deſcending the Miſſiſſippi in 1707.

2 This is the earlieſt notice of Mr. de Vincennes. This officer, whoſe death in the Chickaſaw war has rendered his name famous, and whoſe memory is preſerved by a weſtern city, was apparently a nephew of Louis Jolliet, the explorer of the Miſſiſſippi. His family name was Biſſot, Vincennes being merely the name of a Seigneurie in Canada acquired by one of his anceſtors. He was commander among the Miamis in 1698, as this journal ſhows, and though he was near loſing his military rank and poſition in 1704, he was too uſeful to be removed. In 1730 he led the Miamis in D'Artaguette's expedition, and with du Tiſné, Lalande and Father Senat fell into the hands of the Chickaſaws and was put to death. Vincennes was not apparently founded by him, but may have been a poſt or reſidence of his, ſo that the town that aroſe took his name.

3 Henri de Tonty, ſon of the founder of Tontines, was a Neapolitan, who with his father having been concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the Spaniſh power, retired to France. He loſt an arm in the ſervice, and was recommended to La Salle by the Prince de Condé. He is one of the noble figures in the hiſtory of the weſt. As Lieu-

had come to the reſolution to accompany us as far as the Akanſcas. I cannot, Monſeigneur, expreſs our obligations to him; he guided us as far as the Akanſcas and gave us much pleaſure on the way. He facilitated our courſe through ſeveral nations, winning us the friendſhip of ſome and intimidating thoſe who from jealouſy or a deſire of plunder had wiſhed to oppoſe our voyage; he has not only done the duty of a brave man, but alſo diſcharged the functions of a zealous miſſionary. He quieted the minds of our employees in the little vagaries that they might have; he ſupported us by his example in the exerciſes of devotion which the voyage permitted us to perform, very often approaching the ſacraments.

It would be uſeleſs, Monſeigneur, to give you a deſcription of Lake Mieſitgan,[4] on which we embarked, leaving the fort of the Outouaouas,[5] it is a courſe well enough known. We would have taken the ſouth ſide, which is much the ſhorteſt and

tenant of La Salle he directed affairs in Illinois with conſummate ſkill, and going to meet La Salle he made the ſecond voyage to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi. He was one of the founders of Detroit, and his removal from the command of the poſt to give place to the inexperienced de Bourgmont plunged the poſt in a war. When Iberville reached the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſettlements were begun, Tonty went down, and rendered ſignal ſervice till he ſank a victim to a deadly epidemical fever in Auguſt, 1704, at Mobile.

4 Michigan.

5 The Ottawas or Short Ears, ſtill exiſt. They form a village on the weſt ſide of the lower peninſula of Michigan, where Catholic Miſſionaries ſtill attend them. Their language is Algonquin, and their dialect approaches very nearly that of the Chippewas.

finer than the north, but as it is the path of the Irriquois, and as they not long ſince ſurprized ſome ſoldiers and Indians who were going to the Miamis, this obliged us to take the north ſide, which is not ſo agreeable nor abundant in game, but eaſier withal as I think, becauſe you are there ſhielded from the north and eaſt winds.

On the 18th of the month we arrived off the Bay of the Puants,[6] forty leagues diſtant from Michilimakinac; we cabined in an iſle of the detour, [ſo called] becauſe there the Lake begins to turn ſoutherly. We were detained on this iſland ſix days, during which our people employed their time in ſetting nets; they took a great quantity of white fiſh, which is a very fine fiſh, and a manna, which is ſcarcely ever wanting along this lake, where meat is almoſt always out of reach.

On the 20th we croſſed the Bay of the Puants [which is] about ten leagues broad. You croſs from iſle to iſle. The Bay of the Puants is about twenty or thirty leagues long. On the right, as you enter, you find another ſmall bay called [the Bay] of the Noquets. The Bay of the Puants is inhabited by ſeveral Indian nations, the Noquets,[7] Folles Avoines[8] [Wild Rice], Foxes, and the Pout-

6 Green Bay. Les Puans were the Winnebagoes. The Jeſuit Relations, where the name firſt appears, explain that the Algonquin word Ouenibegouc, tranſlated Puans, meant really men from the ſalt water. They call themſelves Otchagras.

7 Theſe Indians left their name to ſome iſlands in Green Bay, but they figure very little in hiſtory.

8 The Folles Avoines were the Menomonees, whoſe language is the moſt corrupt of all the Algonquin dialects.

ouatami and the Sak.[9] The Jeſuit Fathers have a miſſion at the head of the bay. We much wiſhed to paſs by the head of this bay, and it would have been much our ſhorteſt [route]. You aſcend a little river (where there are only three leagues of rapids) about ſixty leagues long; you then make a portage which is not long,[10] and fall into the river of Weſkonſin, which is very fine, and which you are only two days in deſcending to reach the Miciſſippi. It is indeed 200 leagues from the point where this river empties into the Miciſſippi to that where the river of the Illinois[11] diſcharges into the ſame Miciſſippi, but the current is ſo ſtrong that this diſtance is ſoon made; but the Foxes [who] are on this little river that you aſcend on leaving the Bay to reach the Weſkonſin will not ſuffer any perſon [to paſs] for fear they will go to places at war with them, and hence they have already plundered ſeveral Frenchmen, who wiſhed to go by that road. This obliged us to take the Chikagu road.

On the 29th of September, we arrived at the village of the Poux[12] about twenty leagues' diſtance from the Traverſe of the Bay. There was formerly a very fine village there, but ſince the chief's death

9 The Pottowatamies, Sacs and Foxes, are ſtill ſubſiſting tribes of the ſame Algonquin family.

10 See this portage more fully deſcribed in Guignas's letter, *poſt*.

11 The Illinois nation was made up of the Peorias, Tamarois, Cahokias, Kaſkaſkias, Moingonas, and an adopted tribe, the Metchigameas, all of whom are frequently mentioned here.

12 Poux is not the plural of the French word pou, as ſome ſuppoſe, but a contraction of Pouteouatami.

a part of the Indians have gone and ſettled in the Bay, and the reſt were ready to go there too when we paſſed. We remained in this village

The 30th we ſet out, and on the 4th of October we came to another ſmall village of Poux on a little river where Rev. Father Marais[13] had wintered with ſome Frenchmen and planted a croſs. We ſpent the reſt of the day there.

On the 5th we ſet out, and after being detained two days by high winds, we arrived on the 7th at Melwarik.[14] This is a river where there is a village which has been conſiderable, and inhabited by the Motarctins[15] and Foxes, and even ſome Poux. We remained there two days, partly on account of the wind and partly to refreſh our people a little, as duck and teal ſhooting was very plenty on the river.

On the 10th of October, having left Meliwarik early in the morning, we arrived in good ſeaſon at Kipikawi,[16] which is about eight leagues from it. There we parted with Mr. de Vincennes's party, who continued their courſe towards the Miamis. Some Indians had led us to ſuppoſe that we might

13 Apparently the Rev. Joſeph J. Mareſt, of the Society of Jeſus, long a miſſionary in the weſt, certainly from 1689 to 1711, though it may be his brother Gabriel, who was on the Illinois miſſion in 1700.

14 Milwaukee, written on ſome early maps Melloki and Melleoki. For Latinizing this laſt form has advantages.

15 If they were ever a diſtinct nation, theſe Maſcoutens have now merged in the Sacs, Foxes and Kikapoos.

16 I do not find this name of Kipikawi or Kipikuſkwi elſewhere. The river is evidently that emptying into the Lake at Racine, and this route was up the Root River and then by a portage acroſs to the Fox, or Piſh-

aſcend by this river, and that after making a portage of about nine leagues, we could deſcend by another river called Piſtrui,[17] which empties into the River of the Illinois about twenty-five or thirty leagues from Chikagu.[18] We avoided this river, which is about twenty leagues in length up to the portage. It paſſes through quite pleaſant prairies, but as there was no water in it, we judged ſagely too that there would not be in the Beſtikwi,[17] and that inſtead of ſhortening our way, we ſhould have had to make nearly forty leagues of the way as a portage. This obliged us to take the route of Chicagu,

taka (Beſtikwi) river, which they deſcended to the Illinois. The names in this memoir have ſuffered greatly in tranſcription, and the copyiſt ſeems to have been eſpecially bothered by the 8, which he replaces by vv or *w*, and ſometimes by r and k. As a vowel it correſponds to the Engliſh oo (French ou) as a conſonant to w.

17 Joutel on his map gives the name of Peteſcouy to this river, and Charlevoix (*Hiſt. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, p. 380) mentions it as the Piſticoui; it is now called the Fox or Piſhtaka or Piſtakee, and a lake on its courſe is alſo ſtill called Piſtakee.

18 The party made their way to Chicago, where they found a Jeſuit Miami miſſion. The miſſion of St. Joſeph's has been uſually ſuppoſed to have been on the St. Joſeph's river from the firſt. Chicago was from a very early date a place of importance, as one of the routes to the Miſſiſſippi. Perrot is ſaid to have viſited it in 1671, but this is only an inference of Charlevoix, not borne out by the manuſcript of Perrot, to which he refers. Marquette and Joliet paſſed by it on their return from their exploration of the Miſſiſſippi. Marquette paſſed a winter there ſubſequently. Allouez took the ſame route in 1677. La Salle on his ſecond journey to the Illinois went by the way of Chicago. Joutel and Cavelier, the author of the preceding Journal, were at Chicago in 1687-8, and La Hontan the next year came back from the Miſſiſſippi by the ſame route. After the preſent author Charlevoix deſcribes the line of travel by Chicago, and the portage is called Portage aux Chenes. On De l' Iſle's map of Louiſiana (circa 1717) the Deſplaines is called the Chicago.

which is about twenty-five leagues from it. We remained five days at Kipikuſkwi.

We left it on the 17th, and after having been detained by wind the 18th and 19th, we cabined on the 20th five leagues from the Chicaqw. We ſhould have reached it early on the 21ſt, but the wind, which ſuddenly ſprung up from the lake, obliged us to land half a league from Apkaw.[19] We had conſiderable difficulty in getting aſhore and ſaving our canoes. We had to throw everything into the water. This is a thing which you muſt take good care of along the lakes, and eſpecially on [Lake] Miſſigan, (the ſhores of which are very flat) to land ſoon when the water ſwells from the lake, for the breakers get ſo large in a ſhort time that the canoes are in riſk of going to pieces and loſing all on board; ſeveral travellers have already been wrecked there. We went by land, Mr. de Montigny,[20] Davion and myſelf, to the houſe of

19 This name is inexplicable. They certainly ſtopped at Chicago, and the name may have been a tranſcriber's blunder for cette place, *that place.*

20 Rev. Francis Jolliet de Montigny, the leader of the party whoſe journey is here deſcribed, was born at Paris, but ordained at Quebec, March 8, 1693. After being Curé of St. Ange Gardien and Director of the Urſulines, he ſet out to found a miſſion of the Seminary of Quebec on the Miſſiſſippi. He bore the appointment of Vicar General of the Biſhop of Quebec, and was attended, as we here ſee, by Meſſrs Davion and St. Coſme. The outfit of this miſſion is ſaid to have coſt 10,800 livres. They founded a miſſion at Tamarois, of which the Jeſuits complained, and after conſiderable altercation Mr. de Montigny in 1700 retired, and going to France refuſed to return to America. He was then ſent to China where he labored with great zeal, and becoming Secretary to Cardinal de Tournon ſhared his exile and attended him on his death bed in priſon at Macao. Mr. de Montigny then returned to Paris and there became Director of the Foreign Miſſions, and died in 1725 at the age of 64.

the Reverend Jeſuit Fathers, our people ſtaying with the baggage. We found there Rev. Father Pinet[21] and Rev. Father Buinateau,[22] who had recently come in from the Illinois and were ſlightly ſick.

I cannot explain to you, Monſeigneur, with what cordiality and marks of eſteem theſe reverend Jeſuit Fathers received and careſſed us during the time that we had the conſolation of ſtaying with them. Their houſe is built on the banks of the ſmall lake, having the lake on one ſide and a fine large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over 150 cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almoſt as large. They are both of the Miamis. Rev. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary reſidence except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting, and which he goes and ſpends at the Illinois. We ſaw no Indians there, they had already ſtarted for their hunt. If we may judge of the future by the little while that Father Pinet has been on this miſſion, we may ſay that God bleſſes the labors and zeal of this holy miſſionary. There will be a great number of good and fervent Chriſtians there. It is true that little fruit is produced there in thoſe who have grown up and hardened in debauchery, but the children are baptized and even the medicine men, moſt oppoſed to

21 Father FRANCIS PINET was the founder of the Tamarois miſſion and died there about 1704.

22 Father JULIAN BINNETEAU was a miſſionary in Maine in 1693, and died of a fever brought on by his labors ſoon after this viſit of St. Coſme, as Father Gravier in 1700 does not refer to him.

Chriſtianity, allow their children to be baptized. They are even very glad to have them inſtructed. Many girls already grown up and many young boys are being inſtructed, ſo that it may be hoped that when the old ſtock dies off there will be a new Chriſtian people.

On the 24th of October, the wind having fallen, we made our canoes come with all our baggage, and perceiving that the waters were extremely low we made a *cache* on the ſhore and took only what was abſolutely neceſſary for our voyage, reſerving till ſpring to ſend for the reſt, and we left in charge of it Brother Alexander, who conſented to remain there with Father Pinet's man, and we ſtarted from Chicaqw on the 29th and put up for the night about two leagues off, in the little river which is then loſt in the prairies. The next day we began the portage, which is about three leagues long when the water is low, and only a quarter of a league in the ſpring, for you embark on a little lake that empties into a branch of the river of the Illinois,[23] and when the waters are low you have to make a portage to that branch. We made half our portage that day, and we ſhould have made ſome progreſs further, when we perceived that a little boy whom we had received from Mr. de Muys,[24]

23 Mud Lake, which empties into the Deſplaines, and called by the voyageurs Le petit Lac. See note, p. 51.

24 M. de Muys. An officer of this name figures ſeveral times in the French reports of the weſt (O'Callaghan's New York Col. Doc., ix), and is apparently the one appointed Governor of Louiſiana in 1707; a Lieutenant of the ſame name was at Fort Le Bœuf in October, 1753.

having ſtarted on alone, although he had been told to wait, had got loſt without any one paying attention to it, all hands being engaged. We were obliged to ſtop and look for him. All ſet out, we fired ſeveral guns, but could not find him. It was a very unfortunate miſhap, we were preſſed by the ſeaſon and the waters being very low, we ſaw well that being obliged to carry our effects and our canoe it would take us a great while to reach the Illinois. This made us part company, Mr. de Montigny, de Tonty and Davion,[25] continued the portage next day, and I with four other men returned to look for this little boy, and on my way back I met Fathers Pinet and Buinateau who were going with two Frenchmen and one Indian to the Illinois. We looked for him again all that day without being able to find him. As next day was the feaſt of All Saints this obliged me to go and paſs the night at Chikagou with our people, who having heard maſs and performed their devotions early, we ſpent all that day too in looking for that little boy without being able to get the leaſt trace. It was very difficult to find him in the tall graſs, for the whole country is prairies; you meet only ſome clumps of woods. As the graſs was high we durſt

25 Rev. Anthony Davion began a miſſion among the Tonicas, but labored almoſt in vain. On the murder of Rev. Mr. Foucault he retired to Mobile, but returned to his poſt in 1704, and remained for over twelve years, till in fact the incorrigible tribe drove him out. He retired to New Orleans about 1722, and died in France about 1727. He is ſaid to have been a native of Normandy and to have arrived at Quebec in 1690.

not ſet fire to it for fear of burning him. Mr. de Montigny had told me not to ſtay over a day, becauſe the cold was becoming ſevere; this obliged me to ſtart after giving Brother Alexander directions to look for him and to take ſome of the French who were at Chicag8.

I ſet out the ſecond of November in the afternoon, made the portage, and ſlept at the river of the Illinois:[26] we went down the river to an iſland. During the night we were ſurprized to ſee an inch of ſnow and the next day the river frozen in ſeveral places, yet we had to break the ice and drag the canoe, becauſe there was no water; this forced us to leave our canoe and go in ſearch of Mr. de Montigny, whom we overtook next day, the 5th of the month, at Stag Iſland (Iſle aux Cerfs). They had already made two leagues portage, and there were ſtill four to make to Monjolly, which we made in three days and arrived on the 8th of the month. From Iſle a la Cache to Monjolly[27] is the

26 This is probably a miſtake of the copyiſt.

27 This is the "well known mound "at Joliet, now called Mount Joliet, "once ſuppoſed to be a work of art, "but now generally conceded to be "a natural formation. The mate- "rials for paving uſed in Chicago "are obtained from that ſource." *Letter of William Barry, Eſq.* Mount Joliet may be a miſtake for Monjolly, and Monjolly not a corruption. There is a Mont Joly in France, which took its name from the following circumſtance:

"Mademoiſelle Joly, a French "actreſs of the latter part of the "eighteenth century, having paſſed "ſome agreeable hours on a hill near "Falaiſe, called La Roche-Saint- "Quentin, left directions in her will "that her remains ſhould be carried "to this ſolitary hill, which was ſo "dear to her heart.' Her wiſhes "were obeyed, and the hill has ever "ſince been called Mont-Joly."

An Indian legend as to this mound is given a few lines lower down.

ſpace of ſeven leagues. You muſt always make a portage, there being no water in the river except in the ſpring. All along this river is very agreeable. It is prairies ſkirted by hills and very fine woods, where there are numbers of deer as well as on the river. There is abundance of game of all kinds, ſo that one of our men ſtrolling around after making the portage, killed enough to give us a plentiful ſupper and breakfaſt next morning. Monjolly is a mound of earth in the prairie, on the right as you go down, ſlightly elevated, about thirty feet. The Indians ſay that at the time of a great deluge one of their anceſtors eſcaped, and that this little mountain is his canoe which he turned over there. On leaving Monjolly we made about two leagues to another little portage of about a quarter of a league. As one of our men, named Charbonneau, had killed ſeveral turkeys and geeſe in the morning and a deer, we did well to give ſomewhat of a treat to our people and let them reſt for a day.

On the 10th we made the little portage and found half a league of water, and then two men towed the canoe for a league; the reſt marched on land, each with his pack, and we embarked for the ſpace of a league and a half and ſtopped for the night at a little portage, five or ſix arpens[28] off.

On the 11th, after making the little portage, we came to the river Tealike,[29] which is the real river

[28] The arpent is about 200 feet.

[29] The Kankakee, called by the Indians Theakiki, a name which the Canadians, as Charlevoix tells us (vol. iii, p. 370), corrupted to Kiakiki, whence Kankakee.

of the Illinois; that which we had deſcended being only a branch. We put all our affairs in the canoe, which two men towed, while Mr. de Tonty and we with the reſt of our men marched on land, always through beautiful prairies. We arrived at the village of the Peanzichias Miamis who formerly dwelt on the —— of the Miſſiſſippi and who ſome years ſince came and ſettled in this place. There was no one in the village, all having gone out hunting. We went that day to halt near Maſſacre, which is a little river that empties into the river of the Illinois.[29] It was from this day that we began to have buffalo, and the next day two of our men killed four, but as theſe animals are lean at this ſeaſon, they contented themſelves with taking the tongues. Theſe cattle ſeem to me larger than ours; they have a hump on the back, the legs are very ſhort, the head very large and ſo covered with long hair, that it is ſaid a ball cannot penetrate it. We afterwards ſaw them almoſt every day during our voyage to the Akanſeas.

After having had to carry our baggage for three days, and put it all together in the canoe, the river being low and full of rocks, we arrived on the 15th of November at the place called the Old Fort. It is a rock which is on the bank of the river about a hundred feet high, where Mr. de la Salle built a

29 The Iroquois River, Charlevoix tells us (*Hiſt. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, p. 380), was ſo called becauſe an Iroquois war party was there ſurpriſed and cut to pieces by the Illinois, but the preſent Iroquois is a branch of the Kankakee above the Deſplaines.

fort which he abandoned.[30] The Indians having gone to ſtay about twenty-five leagues lower down, we ſlept a league below, where we found two Indian cabins. We were conſoled to ſee one perfectly good Chriſtian woman.

From Chicagvv to the Fort they reckon thirty leagues. Here navigation begins, which continues uninterrupted to the Fort of the Permavevvi,[31] where the Indians are now. We arrived there on the 19th of November. We found R. Father Pinet there, who not being loaded when they ſtarted from Chicagou had arrived here ſix or ſeven days before us. We alſo ſaw there Rev. Father Marays, a Jeſuit. All the reverend Fathers gave us all poſſible welcome. Their only regret was to ſee us ſtart ſo ſoon, on account of the froſts, we there took a Frenchman who had ſpent three years at the Akanſeas and who knows the language a little.

This Illinois miſſion ſeems to me the fineſt that Jeſuit Fathers have up here, for without counting all the children who are baptized, there are many grown perſons who have abandoned all their ſuperſtitions and live as perfectly good Chriſtians, frequenting the ſacraments, and are married in the church. We had not the conſolation of ſeeing all theſe good Chriſtians, for they were all diſperſed going down the bank of the river to hunt. We ſaw there only ſome Indian women married to Frenchmen, who edified us by their modeſty and

30 Rockfort.

31 The Peorias, one of the branches of the Illinois nation, who have left their name to a lake.

by their aſſiduity in going ſeveral times a day to the chapel to pray. We ſang High Maſs there with deacon and ſubdeacon, on the day of the Preſentation of the Bleſſed Virgin, and after commending our voyage to her, and placing ourſelves under her protection, we ſtarted from the Illinois.

On the 22d of November we had to break the ice for two or three arpens to get out of the lake of . We were four canoes, Mr. de Tonty's, our two, and another [of five?] young voyageurs who choſe to accompany us, partly on account of Mr. de Tonty, who is generally loved by all the voyageurs, partly alſo to ſee the country. Rev. Fathers Buinateau and Pinet alſo joined us for a part of the way, wiſhing to go and ſpend the whole winter with their Indians.

The firſt day after our departure we found the cabin of Rouenſas,[32] the moſt conſiderable of the Illinois chiefs. He is a very good Chriſtan and received us politely, not like a barbarian, but like a well bred Frenchman; he took us to his cabin and forced us to ſpend the night there. He made us a preſent of three deer, one of which he gave to the Father, the other to Mr. de Tonty, and the third to us. We there learned that the Charanon, the Chekaihas, and Karkinonpols had ſurprized the

32 The name of this chief, Roinſac, was applied ſubſequently to the town of Kaſkaſkia.

33 The copyiſt, as we remarked before, has r for the Greek 8 in Cha8anon, or Shawnee; the Karkinonpols are uncertain; the Chekaihas are the Chickaſaws; the Kavvkias are the Ka8kias or Cahokias, an Illinois tribe.

Kawkias, an Illinois nation that is about five or ſix leagues below the mouth of the River of the Illinois along the Miciſſipi. They had killed ten men, taken nearly 100 ſlaves, as well women as children. As this Rouenſas has much talent, we thought ourſelves obliged to make him ſome preſent to induce him to favour our paſſage through the Illinois nations, not ſo much for this firſt voyage as for the others, when we might be in leſs force, for all theſe peoples up here are much inclined and eaſily conceive jealouſy when one goes to other nations. We therefore gave him a belt to ſhow him that we contracted an alliance with him, and with all his nation, and that he being a Chriſtian ſhould have no greater pleaſure than to ſee other nations partake of the happineſs that he enjoyed, and that to this end he was bound to facilitate as much as he could the deſign of the miſſionaries who were going to inſtruct them. We then made him a little preſent of powder.

On the 23d in the morning, after ſaying our maſſes, where Rouenſas and his family received at Mr. de Montigny's maſs, we ſet out and came to a little Indian village where we landed. The chief, by name the Bear, told us that it was not apropos for us to go to the Miciſſipi, but Mr. de Tonty gained or intimidated him by theſe words, telling him that we were envoys from the Maſter of Life, who is the king, and of the great maſter of the river, to inſtruct thoſe Indians where we were

going, and that he was ſpared by the Governor to accompany us, ſo that to give us any trouble would be to attack the Governor in perſon. As he made no reply to theſe words we embarked, and on the 24th we went to paſs the night at another village of ſeveral cabins, where we found the one called Tivet, once a famous chief in his nation, but of late abandoned by almoſt all his people. He made many complaints to Mr. de Tonty, who reproached him with the fact that it was his miſconduct that drew on him the hatred of his people, and that he had long promiſed to give up his jugglery (for he is a famous medicine man), but that he had done nothing of the kind. He was afterwards there at prayers, and the Indian promiſed to be inſtructed.

The next day, March 25th, we parted with Rev. Father Pinet, who remains in this village to paſs the winter, for there was a good number of Praying Indians, and on the 26 we found a village, the chief of which was hunting with all his young men. Some old men came to meet us, weeping for the death of their people defeated by the Chaŭanons. They told us that we did not do well to go through the Carrechias[34] with the Chauanons, to whom, they ſaid, Mr. de Tonty had given arms and had attacked them. Mr. de Tonty replied that it was over three years ſince he left the Illinois, and that he could not have ſeen the Chauanons to give them arms, but as the Indians continued conſtantly ſay-

34 The copyiſt here evidently blundered at Caŭkias.

ing many unreaſonable things, we ſaw well that they were not well diſpoſed and that we ſhould ſtart as ſoon as poſſible, before the youth, who were to arrive next morning, came in. We accordingly left abruptly, Mr. de Tonty telling them that he did not fear men. They told us that they bewailed our youth, who would be killed. Mr. de Tonty replied that they had ſeen him meet the Iroquois, and that they knew that he could kill men. It muſt be avowed that the Indians have a very great eſteem for him; it is enough for him to be in a party to prevent their offering any inſult. We embarked at once and went to paſs the night five or ſix leagues from this village. The next day we were detained a part of the day by reaſon of a great quantity of ice that was floating in the river.

On the 28th we landed at a village where there were about twenty cabins. We there ſaw the chief's wife. This woman is very influential in the nation on account of her talent and liberality, and becauſe having many ſons and ſons-in-law, all hunters, ſhe often gives banquets, which is a means of ſoon acquiring influence among theſe Indians, and all their nations. We ſaid maſs in the village in the cabin of a ſoldier named La Violette, married to a ſquaw, whoſe child Mr. de Montigny baptized. Mr. de Tonty related to this chieftaineſs what they had ſaid to us in the laſt village. She diſapproved it all and told him that all the nation felt great joy to ſee him and us too,

but what grieved her was not to be ſure of ſeeing him again and poſſeſſing him longer.

We left this village and made about eight leagues. From the 29th of November to the 3d of December we were detained at the ſame place by the ice, by which the river was entirely blocked up. During all this time we had proviſions in plenty, for one can not faſt on this river, ſo abundant is it in game of all kinds, ſwans, geeſe, ducks. It is ſkirted by very fine woods, which are not very large, ſo that you ſometimes meet fine prairies, where there are numbers of deer. Charbonneau killed ſeveral while we were detained. Others alſo killed ſome. The navigation of this river is not very good when the water is low. We were ſometimes obliged to march with a part of our people while the others conducted the canoes, not without difficulty, being ſometimes obliged to get into the water which was already very cold. During our delay, Rev. Father Buineteau, whom we had left at the village of the chief's wife, came to ſee us and after ſpending a day with us returned to the village for the Feaſt of St. Francis Xavier. On that day a high wind having broken a part of the ice we made about a league. The next day, having taken wooden canoes at five Indian cabins, we broke about three or four arpens of ice that blocked up the river, and was about four inches thick and bore men on it. Then we had navigation free to the Miciſſipi, where we arrived

on the 5th of December, after having made about eight leagues from the Fort of Peniteni.[35]

Miciſſippi is a large and beautiful river, that comes from the north. It divides into ſeveral channels at the part where the river of the Illinois empties, which forms very beautiful iſlands. It makes ſeveral bends but ſeems to me to keep always the ſame direction to the ſouth as far as the Akanſeas. It is lined by very fine foreſts. The bank on both ſides appears about thirty feet high, which does not prevent its inundating far into the woods in the ſpring when the waters are high, except ſome hills or very elevated ſpots occaſionally met with. You find all along great quantities of buffalo, bear, deer. You alſo ſee a very great number of birds. We always had ſo great a quantity of meat along this river as far as the Acanſeas, that we paſſed ſeveral herds of buffalo without caring to fire at them.

On the 6th of December we embarked on the Miciſſippi. After making about ſix leagues we found the great river of the Miſſouris, which comes from the weſt, and which is ſo muddy that it ſpoils the waters of the Miciſſipi, which down to this river are very clear. It is ſaid that there are up this mountain (river?) a great number of Indians. Three or four leagues [further] we found on the left a rock having ſome figures painted on it, for which, it is ſaid, the Indians have ſome veneration.

35 Pometeouy, or Peoria it would ſeem, but that was ſeventy leagues from the Miſſiſſippi in 1721. *Charlevoix*, III, 391.

They are now almoſt effaced.[36] We went that day to Kavvechias,[37] who were ſtill mourning over the blow inflicted on them by the Chikakas and Chouanons; they all began to weep on our arrival. They did not ſeem to us ſo hoſtile or ill diſpoſed as ſome Illinois Indians had told us of theſe poor people, who excited more our compaſſion than our fear.

The next day about noon we reached the Tamarois.[38] The Indians had been early notified of our coming by another who had ſtarted from the Akanſeas[39] to carry them the news. As they had given trouble to ſome of Mr. de Tonty's men a year before, they were afraid, and all the women and children fled from the village; but we did not go to it, as we wiſhed to prepare for the feaſt of the Conception, we cabined on the other ſide of the river on the right. Mr. de Tonty went to the village and having reaſſured them a little, he brought us the chief who begged us to go and ſee him in his village. We promiſed to do ſo and next day, Feaſt of the Conception, after ſaying our Maſſes we went with Mr. de Tonty and ſeven of our men well armed. They came to receive us and took us to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and we were no ſooner there than the young folks and women broke in a part to be able to ſee us. They had never ſeen

36 This is the Pieſa, or painted rock, firſt mentioned by Marquette.

37 Cahokias.

38 The Tamarois, or Maroas, were an Illinois tribe.

39 This name is evidently wrong.

any Black Gown except for a few days the Rev. Father Gravier,[40] who had paid them a viſit. They gave us a meal, and we made them a little preſent as we had done to the Carrechias. We told them that it was to ſhow them that we had a well made heart, and that we wiſhed to contract an alliance with them, ſo that they ſhould kindly receive our people who often paſſed there, and that they ſhould give them food. They received it with many thanks and then we returned. The Tamarois were cabined on an iſland lower down than their village, perhaps to get wood more eaſily, from which their village, which is on the edge of a prairie, is ſomewhat diſtant; perhaps too for fear of their enemies. We could not well ſee whether they were very numerous. They ſeemed to us quite ſo, although the greater part of their people were hunting. There was wherewith to form a fine miſſion by bringing here the Kavvchias, who are quite near, and the Michiagamias, who are a little lower down on the Miſſiſſippi, and ſaid to be quite numerous.[41] We did not ſee them as they had gone inland to hunt. The three villages ſpeak Illinois.

We left Tamarois on the 8th of December, in

40 The author of a ſubſequent Journal in this volume.

41 The Metchigamias were lower down the Miſſiſſippi in Marquette's time, but joined the Illinois and became incorporated with them before 1721 (Charlevoix, vol. III, p. 398). Their language was however different, as we ſee by Father Marquette's Journal where he deſcribes the critical moment when the tribe poured out to attack him.

the afternoon. On the 10th we ſaw a hill which is about three arpents diſtance from the Miciſſipi, on the right hand going down. After being detained a part of the 11th by the rain, we arrived early on the 12th at Cape St. Antoine, where we remained that day and all the next to get pitch, which we needed. There are many pines from Cape St. Antoine to a river lower down, and it is the only ſpot where I ſaw any from Chigagou to the Acanſeas. Cape St. Antoine is a rock on the left as you go down Some arpents below there is another rock on the right which advances into the river, and forms an iſland, or rather a rock about 200 feet high, which making the river turn back very abruptly and narrowing the channel forms a kind of whirlpool there, where it is ſaid a canoe is ingulfed at the high waters. Fourteen Miamis were once loſt there, which has rendered the ſpot fearful among the Indians, ſo that they are accuſtomed to make ſome ſacrifices to this rock when they paſs. We ſaw no figure there as we had been told.[42] You aſcend this iſland and rock by a hill with conſiderable difficulty. On it we planted a beautiful croſs, ſinging the *Vexilla Regis*, and our people fired three volleys of muſketry. God grant that the Croſs which has never been known in theſe regions, may triumph there and our Lord pour forth abundantly on them the merits of his holy paſſion, that all the Indians may know

42 See Marquette's account in his Journal, ſection 7.

and ſerve him. At Cape St. Antoine you begin to find canes. There is alſo a kind of large tree like the whitewood, which exudes a gum of very good odor; you find too all along the Miciſſipi a quantity of fruit trees unknown in Canada, the fruit of which is excellent. We found ſometimes fruit ſtill on the trees. I had forgotten to note here that [ſince] we were on the Miciſſipi we did not perceive that we were in winter, and the more we deſcended the greater heat we found, yet the nights are cool.

We left Cape St. Antoine on the 14th of December, and on the 15th we halted for the night one league below the Wabache,[43] a large and beautiful river which is on the left of the Miciſſipi and comes from towards the north, and is they ſay five hundred leagues long, and riſes near the Sonontuans.[44] They go by this river to the Chauanons, who trade with the Engliſh.

On the 16th we ſtarted from Wabache, and nothing ſpecial befel us, nor did we find any thing remarkable till the Acanſeas, except that we found a certain bird, as large as a ſwan, which has the bill about a foot long, and the throat of extraordinary ſize, ſo large in ſome, they ſay, that it would hold a buſhel of wheat. The one that we took was a ſmall one and would eaſily have held in his throat

43 The Ohio, long called Wabaſh by the French from its mouth to the ſource of the preſent Wabaſh; the Ohio being the part from Pittſburgh to the Wabaſh (ſee Gravier's Journal in this volume, and the note on the Arkanſas, p. 75).

44 Senecas.

half a buſhel. They ſay that this bird gets in the current, and opening his large bill [takes the fiſh] that thruſt themſelves into his gullet. Our Frenchmen call this bird Chibek.[45] On the 22d we found a ſmall river on the left going down, which is ſaid to be the road to go to the Chicachas, who are a large nation, and it is ſuppoſed that it is not very far from this little river to their villages.

On the 24th we cabined early ſo that our people might prepare for the great feaſt of Chriſtmas. We made a little chapel; we ſang a high maſs at midnight where our people and all the French attended their duties. Chriſtmas day was ſpent in ſaying our maſſes, all which our people heard and in the afternoon we chanted Veſpers. We were greatly aſtoniſhed to ſee the earth tremble at one clock in the afternoon, and although this earthquake did not laſt long, it was violent enough for all to perceive it eaſily. We ſtarted next day a little late, becauſe we had to wait for an Indian boy that Mr. de Tonty had, who went into the woods the day before to look for fruit and got loſt. We thought that he might have been taken by ſome Chicacha warriors, which obliged us to keep watch and ward all night, but we were quite glad to ſee him come back next morning. We ſet out and went to cabin for the night near the ſpot where the Kappas,[46] a nation of the Akanſeas were formerly.

45 The Grandgozier or Pelican.

46 This tribe, the Quapaws, is now the ſole remnant of the once powerful Arkanſas nation. Some would identify them with the Pacahas of de Soto.

On St. John's day, after making about five leagues, we ſaw ſome wooden canoes and an Indian on the water's edge; as we were near and were afraid that he would take to flight on ſeeing us, one of our men took the calumet and ſung. He was heard at the village which was quite near; a part ran away, the others brought the calumet and came to receive us at the water's edge. They rubbed us when we came up and then rubbed themſelves, a mark of eſteem among the Indians. They took us on their ſhoulders and carried us to a chief's cabin. There was a hill of potter's clay to get up and the one that carried ſank under his burden. I was afraid that he would let me fall and ſo I got down in ſpite of him and went up the hill, but as ſoon as I got to the top I had abſolutely to get on his back and be carried to the cabin. Some time after they came to chant the Calumet[47] for us, and the next afternoon they carried us to another cabin, where making Mr. de Tonty and us alſo ſit down on bear ſkins, and four chiefs having each taken a calumet that they had placed before us, the others began to ſing, ſtriking on a kind of drum, made of earthen pots over which they place a ſkin: they hold in their hands a gourd with pebbles in it, which make a noiſe, and then chant according with the ſound of theſe drums, and the ſound of theſe gourds. This makes a muſic which is not the moſt agreeable, while an Indian who was behind rocked

47 Marquette firſt deſcribed the Calumet, and Father Gravier gives ſome intereſting details as to it.

us. We were ſoon diſguſted with this ceremony, which they perform for all ſtrangers, as they eſteem it and you muſt ſuffer it or paſs for being ill diſpoſed and having bad deſigns. We put ſome of our people in our place after ſtaying there a little while, and they had the pleaſure of being rocked all night. The next day they made us a preſent of a little ſlave and of ſome ſkins, which we repaid by another preſent of knives and other things that they eſteem highly. We were much conſoled to ſee ourſelves in the [propoſed] places of our miſſions, but we were ſenſibly afflicted to ſee this Acanſea nation once ſo numerous entirely deſtroyed by war and ſickneſs. It is not a month ſince they got over the ſmall pox which carried off the greateſt part of them. There was nothing to be ſeen in the village but graves. There were two [tribes] together there and we eſtimated that there were not a hundred men; all the children and a great part of the women were dead. Theſe Indians ſeem of a very good diſpoſition. We were every moment invited to feaſts. They poſſeſs extraordinary fidelity. They tranſported all we had to a cabin, and it remained there for two days without anything being taken, and for ourſelves there was nothing loſt. One of our men having forgotten his knife in a cabin, an Indian at once came to reſtore it. Polygamy is not common among them. Yet we ſaw in the village of the Kappas one of thoſe wretched men who from their youth dreſs as women, ſerving for the moſt ſhameful of vices, but this wretch was

not of their nation: he was an Illinois, among whom this is quite common. Theſe Indians have in abundance, corn, beans, ſquaſhes. As for hunting, being cruſhed by ſickneſs and in conſtant fear of their enemies, we ſaw no ſigns of any in their village. They cabin like the Hurons, uſing large earthen pots inſtead of kettles and well made pitchers. They are quite naked except that when they go out they throw a buffalo robe around them. The women and girls are like the Illinois half naked: they have a ſkin hanging down from the waiſt and reaching to the knees; ſome have a ſmall deer ſkin like a ſcarf.

We remained in this village two days and a half, and after planting a croſs that we told them was a ſign of our union, we ſtarted on the 30th of November [? December] to go to their other village which is about nine leagues from this. It was a deep regret to part with Mr. de Tonty who could not go with us for ſeveral reaſons. He would much have deſired to bear us company to the other nations where we were going, but buſineſs called him back to the Illinois. He is the man that beſt knows the country. He has been twice to the ſea; he has been twice far inland to the remoteſt nations; he is loved and feared every where. If they were exploring theſe parts, I do not think that they can confide it to a more experienced man than he is. Your grace, Monſeigneur, will, I doubt not, take pleaſure in acknowledging the obligations we owe him.

We ſlept at the mouth of the Acanſeas river, which is about 250 leagues diſtant from that of the Illinois. We arrived early next morning at the village. The Indians came to meet us with the calumet; they led us to the village with the ſame ceremonies as the firſt. We ſpent two days there. This village ſeems to me a little more populous than the other, there were more children. We told them that we were going further down to their neighbours and friends; that they would ſee us often; that they would do well to aſſemble all together ſo as more eaſily to reſiſt their enemies. They agreed to all and promiſed to try and make the Ozages join them, who had left the river of the Miſſouris and were on the upper waters of their river.

We ſtarted on the 2d of January and went to cabin at the mouth of the river, where the French, who were going back, would give us only one day to write. I expected to have more time to do it, hoping to go up from the Acanſeas to the Illinois, but as we are going much further down I am afraid that the letters that we write hereafter may not reach you this year, the opportunity being paſt when we reached the Illinois. I therefore beg your grace to excuſe me, if this is ſomewhat ill digeſted. Time preſſes ſo much on me, that I cannot write even to any of our gentlemen, whom I beg you to permit me to ſalute and commend myſelf to their holy ſacrifices. I hope that your Grace will grant me the ſame favour.

From his good ſervant before our Lord. From him who is with the moſt profound reſpect,

Monſeigneur,

Your Grace's

Moſt humble and moſt, &c.

Letter of Mr. de Montigny.

WE arrived ſafely among the nations that we ſought after ſix months' navigation, which was not interrupted by winter. Theſe nations have received us with a joy and a welcome that I cannot expreſs, eſpecially when they learned that we had come to ſtay among them. The firſt among whom we thought of eſtabliſhing [a miſſion] are the Tonicas, who are ſixty leagues lower down than the Akanſeas.[48] Mr. Davion has ſtationed himſelf there. The ſpot where he is is quite fine.

[48] The Arkanſas were evidently ſo called by the northern Algonquin nations, and eſpecially by the Illinois. Marquette firſt gives the name Akanſea, and the French who ſettled in Illinois ſeem to have confirmed it. The tribe called themſelves Ouguapas or Quapaws, apparently the Ouyapes of Charlevoix. Their language is a Dahcotah dialect. Gravier in his Journal ſtates the important fact that the Illinois called the Ohio, the river of the Arkanſas, from its having been the reſidence of that people. La Metairie, the notary of La Salle's expedition, calls the Ohio, the Olighinſipou, or Aleghin, evidently an Algonquin word, *ſipou* being the term *river*. Arkanſas is written in ſome of the early Louiſiana papers Alkanſas. This and Aleghin or Olighin, in the French pronunciation are not very diſſimilar. When we conſider that the Delawares and Illinois, are kindred nations of the

With ſome ſmall villages of ſome other nation who are with them, they make about 2000 ſouls. About one day's journey lower down (that is to ſay 20 leagues), are the Taenſas, who ſpeak another language. They are only a ſhort day's journey from the Natchez, who are of the ſame nation and ſpeak the ſame language. For the preſent I reſide among the Taenſas,[49] but am to go ſhortly to the Natchez. This nation is very great and more numerous than the Tonicas. The Taenſas are only about 700 ſouls. As for Mr. de St. Coſme he remains at the Tamarouois. The Akanſeas would have greatly deſired us to ſtay among them, but as they were not aſſembled in a ſingle village [but ſcattered] which would have been too difficult to attend, we have adviſed them to aſſemble together ſo as to have a miſſionary. This they are going to do next ſpring, and they wiſh even to make us a houſe alſo

ſame name (Lenni, Illini) it may be that the Quappaws are the Alleghans or Allegewi, whom the Delawares ſay they and the Iroquois drove down the Miſſiſſippi. If the Quapaws are the Pacahas of De Soto, the retreat from the Ohio muſt date back to the fifteenth century at leaſt. When firſt diſcovered by the French the Arkanſas were divided into four tribes: 1, the Kappas; 2, the Toyengan or Tongenga, Doginga, Togengas or Topingas; 3, the Toriman, Toreman or Tourimans; 4, the Atotchaſi, Oſotonoy or Aſſoutoué, Oſitteoez, Otſotchové or Sauthouis, as the names are differently given by different authors. A remnant of the tribe ſtill exiſts, and are known as the Quapaws.

49 The Taenſas were firſt deſcribed by Father Membré (ſee his Journal in *Diſcovery and Exploration of the Miſſiſſippi Valley*, 170-2, and alſo Thaumur and Gravier, *poſt*). Le Page da Pratz ſays they were a branch of the Natchez and ſpoke the ſame language (II, 219). They had entirely diſappeared prior to 1712. (*Charlevoix Hiſt. de la Nouvelle France*, III, 438.)

to induce us to go and ſee them and to remain with them. Theſe people are very mild, give a warm welcome and have a great eſteem for the French; they are ſedentary, cultivate the earth, living on nothing ſcarcely but Indian corn.

I often ſpeak of the Tonicas and the Taenſas and of thoſe who are on the banks of the Miciſſipi going down to the ſea, for far inland the Indians are in great numbers. They have rather fine temples, the walls of which are of mats. That of the Taenſas has walls ſeven or eight feet thick on account of the great number of mats one on another. They regard the Serpent as one of their divinities ſo far as I could ſee. They would not dare to accept or appropriate anything of the ſlighteſt conſequence without taking it to the temple. When they receive anything it is with a kind of veneration that they turn towards this temple. They do not ſeem to be debauched in their lives. On account of the great heat the men go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve years go entirely naked. They are ſo mild and have ſo much deference for what we told them, that I perſuade myſelf that it will not be very difficult when I know their language a little to reform this abuſe, which among them makes no impreſſion, they being accuſtomed to it from childhood. They have alſo another abuſe. When their chiefs are dead, as he has been more eſteemed, the more perſons they kill who offer themſelves to die with him, and laſt year, when

the chief of the Taenſas died, there were twelve perſons who offered to die, and whom they tomahawked. There is never any winter among them, they do not know ſnow and have never ſeen it. There is always graſs there, and at the end of January, the peach and plum trees and violets were in bloſſom. I have ſeen about this time at the Taenſas as great heats as in midſummer at Kebeq, and yet thoſe who have ſpent the ſummer there affirm that it is not hotter than at Quebec. The ſoil is very good, the Indian corn grows ſometimes twenty feet high, and a ſingle grain will ſend out ten or twelve ſtalks almoſt as thick as your arm. There are a great many herbs and plants and others which are unknown to us. If you have any wiſh to ſee the dreſs of our Indians, we ſend one to Mr. Leuiſen, who will ſhow it to you. As we do not know the language, we have not yet made any great converſions, nevertheleſs we have the conſolation of having baptized ſeveral dying children and a very diſtinguiſhed chief of the Tonicas, whom we inſtructed by interpreters. We were ſurpriſed to ſee ſuch judgment in an Indian and diſpoſitions as Chriſtian as what he had. As he was *in extremis* we baptized him and gave him the name of Paul. He died the next day, after making acts of religion which greatly edified us.

I beg you kindly to continue your good prayers for our miſſions, for I am perſuaded and juſtly, that they it is that have obtained us a proſperous voyage. I ſalute all the community. I ſhould have liked to

write to ſeveral, but have not been able. I am more than I can tell, in our Lord——

DE MONTIGNY.

From the Akanſeas, this 2d January, 1699.

LETTER OF MR. THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE.

THIS is to let you know that we have accompliſhed the Akanſeas voyage, quite ſafely, thank God, and have deſcended within 200 leagues of the ſea. I will not ſpeak to you of our route from Michilimaquinac to the Akanſeas in this that I have the honour of writing you, for fear of tiring you. Our gentlemen have drawn up a relation which they ſend to the Biſhop. I ſuppoſe that you will ſee it. It will tell you all the adventures of the voyage. We [arrived] on the 17th of December at the Akanſeas, where we were very well received. They did not know how to treat us beſt. This fine nation, which is ſpoken of —— is almoſt entirely deſtroyed by war and ſickneſs. It is a great pity. They are the beſt made, frankeſt and beſt diſpoſed men that we have ſeen. We planted a croſs there and when they go to hunt they do the ſame thing. On our way back we found one that they had planted on the banks of the Miciſſipi. They await a miſſionary in great impatience. Mr. de Montigny ſeeing them irreſolute about

going further down, we ſet out on the 4th of January, with little proviſions, expecting to find game as uſual, for from Chikagou to the Akanſeas in the Miciſſipi, the biſon and cows are ſo numerous that you cannot lack proviſions if you have powder and ball. Bear and deer are very numerous; we killed ſeveral with ſwords. On ſtarting from the Akanſeas we had rain for the ſpace of five days, during which we made no great progreſs. Our whole ſtock of proviſion conſiſted of dried ſquaſh, and even of that we did not make half a meal. On Twelfth day we did not eat a bit. On the 11th we arrived at the Tonicas,[50] about ſixty leagues below the Akanſeas. The firſt village is four leagues from the Miciſſipi inland on the bank of a quite pretty river; they are diſperſed in little villages; they cover in all four leagues of country; they are about 260 cabins. Their houſes are made of paliſades and earth, and are very large; they make fire in them only twice a day, and do their cooking outſide in earthen pots. The married women are covered from the waiſt to the knees, and the girls are naked up to the age of twelve years and ſometimes until they are married, and

50 Marquette, the firſt to give the name, writes it Tanikwa. The Tonicas were then oppoſite Red River; they were always firm friends of the French, but the miſſionary Davion had little ſucceſs among them. They expelled him at one time for deſtroying their temple, though they had not ſufficient reverence for it to build another. They treacherouſly cut off the Houmas ſoon after. In the Natchez war they ſtood by the French and were nearly deſtroyed by the Chickaſaws. Their chief by his ſervices won a French commiſſion. *Charlevoix Hiſt. de la N. F.*, III, 433. In 1806 there was a remnant of them at Avoyelle, on the Red River. *Archæologia Americana*, II, 115.

they wear clothes which ſcarcely cover them, being made after the faſhion of fringes, which they ſimply place in front. As for the men they are dreſſed in their ſkins and are very peaceable people, well diſpoſed, much attached to the French, living entirely on Indian corn, they are employed ſolely on their fields; they do not hunt like the other Indians. The Indian corn of this country grows 15 to 20 feet high; they gather it only as they need it. The village of the great chief is in a beautiful prairie. Sickneſs was among them when we arrived there. One of their chiefs being about to die, M. de Montigny aſked him through an interpreter whether he wiſhed to be baptized, to which he replied that he deſired to be. Having given alſo ſome tokens of his deſire, he was baptized and died the next day. They were dying in great numbers. They inter their dead and the relations come to weep with thoſe of the houſe, and in the evening they weep over the grave of the departed and make a fire there and paſs their hands over it, crying out and weeping. Mr. Davion has eſtabliſhed his miſſion in this place; they have a temple on a little hill; we went there to ſee it: there are earthen figures which are their manitous. We ſpent eight days in this village and ſet out to go to the Taenſas, who are twenty leagues lower down. We went to paſs the night below the river on the bank of the Miciſſipi, where we caught their ſickneſs by the great abundance of rain which laſted a long time, and it rained ſo violently for two days that

we were obliged to make a bed for Mr. de Montigny on logs of wood. He was ſo ſick that when he wiſhed to get up he fainted every moment. We had nothing to eat but Indian corn boiled in water; a part of our people were hunting, weary and ſick as they were. One of them got loſt in the woods and ſlept out; [while] they were looking for him, I went hunting, and killed ſome little game, but Mr. de Montigny would not eat it. We ſtarted from this place and when evening came we were all ſick. The next day we arrived at the portage of the Taenſas, which is a league long, where we ſlept. I had the fever as well as the reſt of them. On the 21ſt we arrived at the Taenſas. It is a league by land and two by water. They are on the ſhore of a lake three leagues from the Miciſſipi. They are very humane and docile people. Their chief died not long before we arrived. It is their cuſtom to put to death [many] on this account. They told us that they had put to death thirteen on the death of the one who died laſt. For this purpoſe they put a root in the fire to burn, and when it is conſumed they kill him with tomahawks. The Natchez, who are twelve leagues lower down, put men to death on the death of their chief. It muſt be avowed that they are very fooliſh to allow themſelves to be killed in this way; yet it is a thing they eſteem as great honour and noble-heartedneſs. They have a pretty large temple, with three columns well made, ſerpents and other like ſuperſtitions. The temple is encircled by an enclo-

ſure made like a wall, it is almoſt covered with ſkulls. They would not let us enter, ſaying, that thoſe who entered died. We entered half by force, half by conſent. The girls and women are dreſſed like thoſe I have mentioned before, and even worſe, for we ſaw ſome 25 and 30 years old quite naked.

We left there on the 27th to return to the Tonicas; Mr. de Montigny and Mr. de St. Coſme reſolved to go up together to bring down the things left at Chicagou where Brother Alexander had remained to guard them, becauſe there was no water in the river of the Illinois. We brought only a canoe load of abſolute neceſſaries, which we had to carry for the diſtance of fifteen leagues. We had good cheer this fall returning up the Miciſſipi. One of our men was bitten by a rattle ſnake on our way back from the Taenſas. It gave him no trouble, for Mr. de Montigny, who was at hand, gave him a remedy to counteract the effect of the poiſon. In the rivers of the Acanſeas and Tonicas and in lake Taenſas, the alligator is in ſo great numbers, that you will ſee thirty together; he is the moſt frightful maſter fiſh that can be ſeen. He is made like a toad. I ſaw one that was as large as a half hogſhead. There are ſome, they ſay, as large a hogſhead and twelve to fifteen feet long. I have no doubt they would ſwallow a man up if they caught him.

There were ſome Illinois villages that wiſhed to oppoſe our voyage, but they gained nothing; we paſſed on in ſpite of them and their envy. Mr. de

Tonty kindly accompanied our gentlemen as far as the Acanſeas. We were a ſtrong party, and going up the Illinois river we came near being plundered by the Miamis. They boaſted that they would rob us as we came up the Illinois river. We are not in the humour of letting ourſelves be plundered. We are thirty men to deſcend the river of the Illinois. There are as many people at the Tamarois as at Kebeq. Mr. de St. Coſme is at the Tamarois, which is eight leagues from the Illinois. It is the largeſt village that we have ſeen. There are about 300 cabins there.

We arrived on Maundy Thurſday at Chicagou after making thirty leagues by land. It rained during the laſt two days of our march. Mr. de Montigny was much fatigued and I was no leſs ſo. Much good can be done in the miſſions lower down, namely, at the Akanſeas, Tonicas and Taenſas, and ſeveral other nations that are in their vicinity. I believe ſo, and they ſay that we are ſpirits. Mr. de Montigny intended to ſee all the nations and to go to the ſea. Having learnt that three Frenchmen had been lately killed and we all being ſick, he probably did not deem it proper. He is going to reſide at the Taenſas, about one hundred leagues diſtant from the ſea, and I even believe that he will go there. All his party are ſo pleaſed with him, that he finds more people than he needs, wherever he wiſhes to go. On ſtarting from the Illinois in the month of April, four voyageurs came expreſs to accompany him, and as he

was fatigued they wiſhed to carry him, which he would not ſuffer, and went on afoot. I will tell you that Mr. de Montigny took a boy twelve or fifteen years old with him, who got loſt while making the firſt portage in the prairies. Mr. de St. Coſme remained with five men and ſpent two days looking for him without being able to find him, and during this time I and two others with Mr. de Montigny made a portage of two leagues. This boy made his way to Chicagou, where Brother Alexander was, thirteen days after. He was utterly exhauſted and was out of his head.

Theſe people had their women and girls dreſſed like the Tonicas. Mr. de Montigny inclines to put me at the Tamarois with Mr. de St. Coſme. I ſhould not be diſpleaſed. It was ſuppoſed at the Outraois that Mr. Diberville had come by ſea to the mouth of the Miciſſipi, but we have heard no tidings of him, except what I have related above. The Miamis are trying to pick a quarrel with us, but we do not know what will come of it. We are to ſtart from Chicagou on Eaſter Monday. The fineſt country that we have ſeen is all from Chicagou to the Tamarois. It is nothing but prairies and clumps of wood as far as you can ſee. I will mention alſo, that many Canadians marry among the Illinois.

I ſhall not come down within two years to know whether they will ſettle this country. It is perfectly charming. We did not perceive that it was

winter. The peach trees were in bloſſom at the Tonicas in the month of January. They are ſo plentiful in the village of the Taenſas that they cut them down. There are alſo pearls which are very fine. I believe that they are precious, yet they pierce them to ſtring them. I cloſe, fearing to tire you, and ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your very humble and very obd^t^ ſerv^t^,

LA SOURCE.[52]

[52] The Rev. Dominic Thaumur de la Source had been a pupil of Father Charlevoix at Quebec, and was ordained there. Charlevoix found him at Cahokia in 1721.

III.

LE SUEUR'S VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

IN 1699-1700.

VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI

IN 1699-1700,

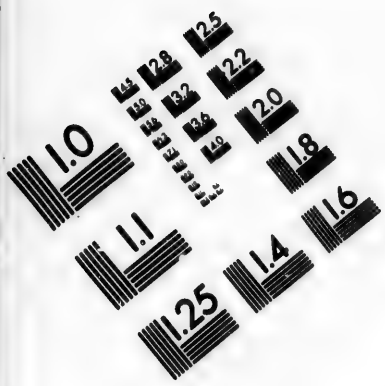
BY

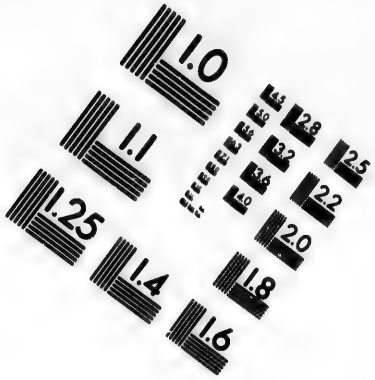
MR. LE SUEUR,[1]

AS GIVEN BY BENARD DE LA HARPE, FROM LE SUEUR'S JOURNAL.

MR. Le Sueur arrived with thirty workmen in the *Renommée* and *Gironde*, Decr 7, 1699. He had acquired renown by his voyages in Canada; he was ſent on behalf of Mr. L'huillier, Farmer-general, to form an eſtabliſhment at the ſource of the Miſſiſſipi. The object of this enterprize was to work a mine of

1 Le Sueur was a Canadian (*Bibaud*), and a kinſman of Iberville (*Charlevoix*, II, 413); not his father as Neill, of little French and leſs courteſy, ignorantly ſays (*Hiſt. of Minneſota*, 154, n). The firſt alluſion that I find to him is in 1693, when he was a voyageur ſtationed at Chegoimegon, and from his knowledge of the Dakotah employed to maintain peace between the Chippeways and Dakotas (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, IX, 570). His ſubſequent adventures are ſketched in the text. He returned to France with Iberville in 1702, and died ſome years after while again on his way to Louiſiana (*La Harpe*, 21). Neill, by a blunder though citing La Harpe, makes him die in Louiſiana. The Le Sueur who figured in the Natchez war is therefore, in all probability, a different perſon.





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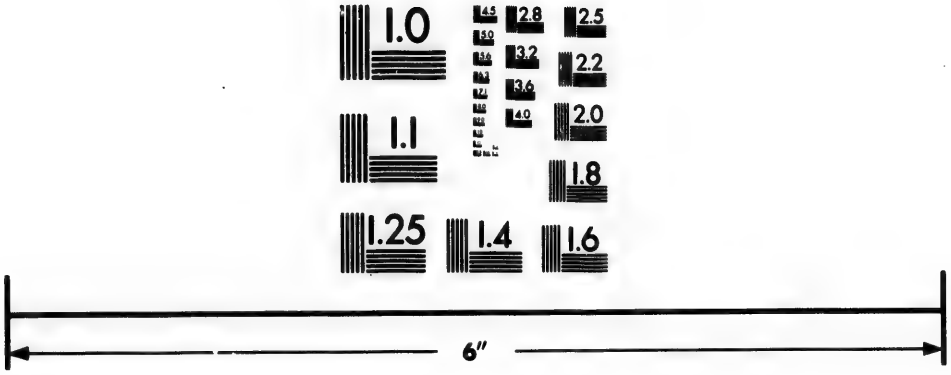

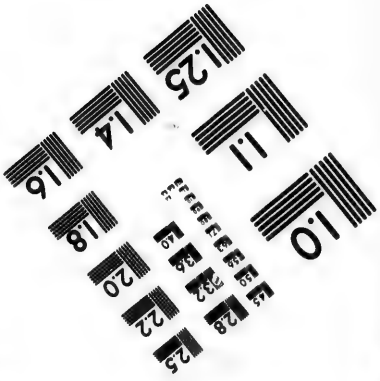

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green earth[2] that Mr. Le Sueur had diſcovered. What gave riſe to this enterpriſe as far back as the year 1695, was this. Mr. Le Sueur by order of the Count de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, built a fort on an iſland in the Miſſiſſipi, more than 200 leagues above the Illinois, in order to effect a peace between the Sauteurs[3] nations who dwell on the ſhores of a lake of five hundred leagues circumference,[4] one hundred leagues eaſt of the river and the Scioux, poſted on the Upper Miſſiſſipi. The ſame year, according to his orders, he went down to Montreal in Canada with a Sauteur chief named Chingouabé and a Sciou named Cioſcate, who was the firſt of his nation who had ſeen Canada; and as they hoped to derive from his country many articles of value in commerce, the Count de Frontenac, the Chevalier de la Callière and M. de Champigny, received him quite well. Two days after their arrival they preſented to the Count de Frontenac in a public aſſembly as many arrows as there were Scioux villages, and they told him that all theſe villages begged him to receive them among his children, as he had done the other nations whom they named in ſucceſſion, which was granted.

2 A mine of green earth ſeems a queer and not over-valuable diſcovery, but theſe colored marls, blue, green and yellow, owing their color to ſilicate of iron, were, when free from ſand, highly eſteemed and uſed as paint by the Indians, and were conſequently a good article of trade.

3 Ojibwas or Chippewas. The French called them Sauteux, and later Sauteurs, not meaning Leapers, as ſome have ſaid who prefer gueſſing to reſearch, but from their reſidence at Saut Ste Marie.

4 Lake Superior.

M. Le Sueur was to go up to the Miſſiſſipi in 1696, with this Sciou chief, who had come down ſolely on a promiſe that he ſhould be taken home again, but he fell ſick during the winter and died at Montreal after thirty-three days' ſuffering. As Mr. Le Sueur was diſpenſed by this man's death from returning to that country, where he had diſcovered mines of lead, copper, blue and green earth, he reſolved to go to France, and to ſolicit at court permiſſion to work them. This he obtained in 1697. He embarked at Rochelle in the latter part of June in that year to go to Canada. Off the banks of Newfoundland he was taken by an Engliſh fleet of ſixteen veſſels and carried priſoner to Portſmouth; but peace being declared, he returned to Paris to get a new commiſſion, for he had thrown his old one overboard, for fear of giving the Engliſh any information as to his plan. The Court ordered a new commiſſion to iſſue in 1698. He then went to Canada, where he met obſtacles which compelled him to return to France.[5] During all theſe contradictions a part of the people whom he had left in charge of the fort which he had built in 1695, hearing nothing of him, deſcended to Montreal.

We have ſeen above that he arrived in the colony [of Louiſiana] in the month of December, 1699, with a party of thirty miners. On the 10th of February, 1702, he arrived [? at Fort Biloxi[6]] with

5 Frontenac prevented his going weſt and the Court approved the Governor's action in the matter.

6 Orders came on the 18th December, 1701, to evacuate Biloxi and ſettle on the Mobile, and Bien-

two thouſand quintals of blue and green earth, having come from the Scioux. The following is an extract from the relation of his voyage:

He could not reach the Tamarois till the month of June 1700, having made a conſiderable diſtance from the mouth of the river to that point. He left there July 12th, 1700, with a felucca and two canoes manned by nineteen perſons.

On the 13th, having advanced ſix leagues and a quarter, he halted at the mouth of the Miſſouri river, and ſix leagues above he left on the eaſt of the river the river of the Illinois; he there met three Canadian voyageurs who were coming to join his party: he received by them a letter from the Jeſuit Father Mareſt, dated July 10, 1700, at the Miſſion of the Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin at the Illinois, to this effect.

"I have the honour to write you to inform you that the Sangieſtas[7] have been defeated by the Scioux and Ayavois.[8] Theſe people have combined with the Quincapoux, and a part of the Mécontins,[9] Foxes and Météſigamias,[10] and are going to avenge themſelves, not on the Scioux, of whom they are too much afraid, but on the Ayavois, or

ville ſet out with the garriſon on the 6th January, 1702, leaving only twenty ſoldiers under de Bois Brillant at Biloxi. It is probable however that La Harpe means the Leſueur arrived at Biloxi.

7 Probab[illegible]n error for Sauteux.

8 Written in ſome other early accounts Ainoves; they are the Iowas, who have had the good fortune to give their name to a State.

9 Kickapoos and Maſcoutins.

10 Metchigameas.

"elſe on the Paoutées,[11] or rather on the Oſages, "for theſe laſt ſuſpect nothing and the others are on "their guard; as you may meet the allied nations, "you muſt guard againſt their enterpriſes, and "prevent their getting in your boats, being traitors, "and unfaithful to their word; I beg God to attend "you in all your deſigns."

Twenty-two leagues above the river of the Illinois he paſſed a ſmall river which he named Riviere aux Boeufs.[12] Nine leagues further he paſſed on the left a ſmall river and met four Canadians going down the Miſſiſſipi to reach the Illinois.

On the 30th of July, nine leagues above the laſt river, he met ſeventeen Scioux in ſeven canoes, who were going to avenge the death of three Scioux, one of whom had been burnt and the others killed at the Tamarois, a ſhort time before his arrival at that village; as he had promiſed the chief of the Illinois to appeaſe the Scioux, who might be coming in war againſt his nation, he made the chief of this party a preſent of ſome goods to induce him to return. He told him that the King of France did not wiſh this river to be any more ſullied with blood, and that he had ſent him to tell them that if they obeyed his word, whatever was neceſſary to them ſhould hereafter be given to them. The chief replied that he accepted the preſent, that is to ſay, that he would do what they told him.

11 Firſt mentioned by Marquette as the Pahoutet. They were probably the Padoucas or Comanches.

12 ? Salt River.

From the 30th of July to the 25th of Auguſt, Mr Le Sueur made 52½ leagues to a little river which he called Riviere a la Mine;[13] it comes from the north to its mouth and turns from it to the N. E. Seven leagues on, to the right, there is a lead mine in a prairie, a league and a half inland; this river, except the firſt three leagues, is navigable only when the water is high, that is to ſay, from early ſpring to the month of June.

From the 25th to the 27th he made ten leagues, paſſed two ſmall rivers, and made examination of a lead mine, of which he took a ſupply.

From the 27th to the 30th he made eleven leagues and a half and met five Canadians, one of whom was dangerouſly wounded in the head; they were naked and had no arms except a wretched gun, with five or ſix charges of powder and ball. They ſaid that they were deſcending from the Scioux to go to the Tamarois, and that forty leagues above they had perceived on the Miſſiſſippi nine canoes, carrying ninety Indians, who had plundered and cruelly beaten them; this party were going to war againſt the Scioux. It was made up of four different nations, Outagamis, Saquis, Poutuatamis and Puans,[14] who inhabit a country eighty leagues eaſt of the river and of the point where Mr. Le Sueur then was. Theſe Canadians reſolved to follow the detachment, which was thus com-

13 ? Fever River.

14 Foxes, Sacs, Pottawattomies and Winnebagoes.

poſed of 28 men. That day he made four leagues and a half.

On the 1ſt of September he paſſed the River of the Oueſconſins;[15] it comes from the N. E. to its mouth and turns to the Eaſt. It is almoſt everywhere a league and a half wide. About forty-five leagues up this river on the right is a portage of more than a league in length. The half of this portage is a bog; at the end of this portage there is a little river that falls into a bay called the Bay of the Puans,[16] inhabited by a great number of nations that carry their furs to Canada. It was by the river of the Oueſconſins that Mr. Le Sueur came into the Miſſiſſippi for the firſt time in 1683, to go to the country of the Scioux, where he has at various times ſpent ſeven years. The [Miſſiſſippi] river oppoſite the mouth of this river is only about an eighth of a league wide.

From the 1ſt to the 5th of September our traveller advanced fourteen leagues: he paſſed the Riviere aux Canots,[17] which comes from the north eaſt, then that of the Quincapous,[18] ſo called from the name of a nation, which formerly dwelt on its bank.

From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten leagues and a half and paſſed the Riviere Cachée[19] and that

15 Wiſconſin.

16 That is Bay of the Winnebagoes or Green Bay.

17 ? The Bad Axe.

18 ? The Raccoon.

19 ? The La Croſſe.

aux Ailes :[20] the ſame day he perceived canoes full of Indians deſcending the river. The five Canadians recognized thoſe who had plundered them; ſentinels were placed in the woods, for fear of a ſurpriſe from the land, and when they were within hailing diſtance, the party called out to them, that if they came any nearer they would fire on them. They ranged themſelves along the iſland, within half gunſhot. Soon after four of the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the band advanced in a canoe and aſked whether we had forgotten that they were our brethren, and why we had taken up arms when we perceived them. Mr. Le Sueur told them in reply that after what they had done to the five Frenchmen, who were preſent, he had reaſon to diſtruſt them. Yet for the ſecurity of his trade, being under the abſolute neceſſity of being in peace with all the nations, he would not make repriſals for the robbery which they had committed; he only added that the King their maſter and his, wiſhed all his ſubjects to travel on that river without receiving any inſult; that therefore they ſhould take care of what they were doing. The Indian who had been ſpokeſman ſeemed confounded and made no reply; another merely ſaid that they had been attacked by the Scioux, who had forced them to abandon all their baggage, and that if he did not take pity on them by giving them a little powder, they could not reach their village. Conſideration for [the

20 Perhaps River aux Ailx, as a cape of that name is mentioned, ſo called from the wild onions growing there.

ſafety of] a miſſionary who was to go up to the Scioux, and whom theſe Indians might meet, made him give them two pounds of powder. Mr. Le Sueur made the ſame day three leagues, paſſed a little river weſt of the great river, then a large one on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſipi, which is navigable at all times. The Indian nations that know it called it Red River.[21]

On the 10th at day break they heard a ſtag whiſtle on the other ſide of the river; a Canadian croſſed in a little Sciou canoe that he had found; he ſoon after returned with the body of the animal, which it is eaſy to kill in the rutting ſeaſon, that is from the beginning of September to the end of Auguſt. During that time the hunters make a little whiſtle of the firſt bit of wood or cane, and when they hear a ſtag whiſtle, they anſwer; the animal ſuppoſing it to be another ſtag that whiſtles, comes to them and they kill it without any difficulty.

From the 10th to the 14th Mr. Le Sueur made ſeventeen leagues and a half, paſſed Riviere des Raiſins[22] and that of the Paquilenettes:[23] the ſame day he left on the eaſt of the river, a large and beautiful river, which comes a great diſtance from the north, and called Bon Secours,[24] from the great

21 Black River.

22 Neill thinks this the Wazi Ozu.

23 The Buffalo River, according to Neill.

24 Neill ſuppoſes this to be the Chippeway, but Shumard thinks the Chippeway river to be the next one mentioned.

numbers of Buffalo, ſtags, bears and deer found there; three leagues up this river there is a lead mine, and ſeven leagues higher on the ſame ſide, you meet another river of great length, in the neighbourhood of which there is a copper mine from which he took a maſs of ſixty pounds in his previous voyages. To render it profitable a peace would have to be made between the Scioux and the Oucagamis, becauſe the latter, who live on the lands eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, paſs by this road conſtantly when going out to war againſt the Scioux. In theſe quarters, a league and a half from the northweſt ſide, begins a lake ſix leagues long, and more than one broad. It is called Lake Pepin. It is ſkirted on the weſt by a chain of mountains; on the other ſide on the eaſt you ſee a prairie, and on the northweſt of the lake a ſecond prairie two leagues long and wide; near it is a chain of mountains, which is at leaſt two hundred feet high, and is more than half a league long. Here are found many caverns[25] to which the bears retreat in winter: moſt of theſe caves are over forty feet deep, and about three or four feet high. Some have a very narrow entrance, and all contain ſaltpetre. It would be dangerous to enter them in ſummer, becauſe they are full of rattleſnakes, the bite of which is very dangerous. Le Sueur ſaw ſome of theſe ſnakes which were ſix feet long; but they do not generally exceed four: they have teeth

25 Nicolet has deſcribed theſe caves, which Carver alſo mentioned.

like thoſe of a pike, and the gums full of little bladders which contain their venom. The Scioux ſay that they take it every morning and reject it at night; they have on the tail a kind of ſcale which makes a noiſe; this is what is called their rattle. Le Sueur made that day ſeven leagues and a half, and paſſed another river named Hiambouxeaté—Onataba, which means River of the flat rocks.[26]

On the 15th he croſſed a ſmall river and perceived in the neighborhood ſeveral canoes full of Indians coming down the river. He at firſt took them for Scioux, becauſe he could not diſtinguiſh whether the canoes were large or ſmall. He made his men get their arms ready; he ſoon after heard the Indians giving the yells they uſually give when they ruſh on their enemies. He replied in the ſame manner; and after poſting all his men behind trees, he forbid them to fire till he gave the word. He remained on the water's edge to ſee what ſtep they would take, and perceiving that they put two men aſhore to obſerve from an eminence on the other ſide of the river the number of his people and his forces, he made his party march in and out of the wood continually, ſo that they ſhould take them to be more numerous. This ſucceeded, for as ſoon as the two Indians came down the hill, the chiefs of the party came forward bearing the calumet, which is a ſignal of peace among the Indians. They ſaid that having never ſeen the French ſailing on

[26] The Inyan boſndata or Cannon river, in the judgment of Mr. Neill.

the Miſſiſſippi in boats like a felucca, they had miſtaken them for Engliſh and had accordingly given the war cry and ranged themſelves on the other ſide of the river; but ſeeing their miſtake by our flag, they had come without fear to inform them that one of their people who was crazy had accidentally killed a Frenchman with a ball from a gun; that they were going to bring his comrade, who would tell in what way the accident happened. They made this Frenchman, who was a Canadian named Denis, come: he ſtated that his comrade had been accidentally killed; his name was Laplace; he was a ſoldier who deſerted from Canada and had fled to this country. Mr. Le Sueur replied to theſe Indians, that Onontio (a name they give to all the governors of Canada) being their father and his, they ſhould not ſeek their juſtification anywhere but before him; that he adviſed them to go and ſee him as ſoon as poſſible to beg him to waſh the blood of that Frenchman from their face. This party was compoſed of 47 men of different nations, who live far to the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, about the 44th degree of latitude. Mr. Le Sueur knew the chiefs particularly; he told them that the king of whom they had ſo often heard in Canada, had ſent to ſettle the mouth of the river, and that he wiſhed the nations dwelling on it, as well as thoſe which are under his protection, to live generally in peace. He made that day three leagues and three quarters.

On the 16th he left on the eaſt of the Miſſiſſipi a great river called St. Croix, becauſe a Frenchman

of that name was wrecked at its mouth. It comes from the N. N. W.; four leagues higher up, aſcending, you come to a ſmall lake, at the entrance of which there is a very large maſs of copper; it is on the water's edge, in a little bluff of ſandy earth, weſt of this lake.

From the 16th to the 19th he advanced thirteen leagues and three quarters. After having made from the Tamarois two hundred and ſeven leagues and a half, he left the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi at this point to enter St. Peter's River,[27] on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, on which he made till the 1ſt of October forty four leagues and a quarter. After which he entered Blue River,[28] ſo called by reaſon of the mines of blue earth found at its mouth. He made his ſettlement at 44 deg. 13 m. N.

At this ſpot he met nine Scioux, who told him that this river was the country of the Scioux of the Weſt, of the Ayavois and the Otoctatas[29] a little further; that it was not their cuſtom to hunt on the grounds of others without being invited by thoſe to whom they belonged; that when they ſhould wiſh to come to the fort to get ſupplies, they would be

27 Many writers have of late attempted to make out that this river was called after Le Gardeur de Repentigny, who bore the name of Mr. de St. Pierre. Were it ſo it would be ſtrange that Leſueur does not mention the fact, as the family was an important one in Canada.

28 Now called Mankato or Blue Earth River. See an account of this earth in Owen's Geological Survey of Wiſconſin, Iowa and Minneſota, p. 486.

29 Iowas and Ottoes probably. The Otontantas are on Marquette's map, and are evidently the Anthoutantas (rectius forſan Authontantas) of Membré.

expoſed to be cut off by their enemies coming up or going theſe rivers, which are narrow; and that if he wiſhed to take pity on them, he muſt ſettle on the Miſſiſſippi in the neighborhood of the mouth of St. Peter's river, where the Ayavois, the Otoctatas, and the Scioux could come as well as they. Having made their ſpeech, they began, according to their cuſtom, to weep over Mr. Le Sueur's head, ſaying, *Oueachiſſou ouaepanimanabo;* which means, *Take pity on us.*

Mr. Le Sueur had foreſeen that his eſtabliſhment on the Blue river would not be reliſhed by the Scioux of the Eaſt, who are, ſo to ſpeak, the maſters of the other Scioux and of the nations juſt named, becauſe they are firſt with whom we traded, which has given them a good ſupply of guns. As he had not undertaken the enterpriſe in the ſole view of the beaver trade, but to learn thoroughly the quality of the different mines which he had formerly diſcovered, he told them that he was ſorry he had not known their ideas ſooner; that it was clearly juſt, as he had come expreſſly for them, for him to ſettle on their land; but the ſeaſon was too far ſpent to retrace his ſteps. He then made them a preſent of powder, balls, knives, and a fathom of tobacco, to invite to come as ſoon as poſſible to the fort that he was going to erect; that there, when they were all aſſembled, he would tell them the intentions of the king, their maſter and his.

The Scioux of the Weſt have, according to the reports of thoſe of the Eaſt, more than a thouſand

cabins. They do not uſe canoes, cultivate the earth, or gather wild oats; they generally keep to the prairies between the Upper Miſſiſſippi and the River of the Miſſouris, and live ſolely by hunting.

All the Scioux in general ſay that they have three ſouls, and that after death, that which has done good goes to the warm countries, that which has done evil to the cold countries, and the other keeps the body. Polygamy is in uſe among them; they are very jealous, and ſometimes fight duels for their women. They handle the bow very expertly, and were ſeveral times ſeen to ſhoot ducks on the wing. They make their cabins of ſeveral buffalo ſkins, laced and ſewed together; they carry them every where with them: in each cabin there are ordinarily two or three men with their families. They are all great ſmokers, but their mode of ſmoking differs from that of the other Indians; there are ſome Scioux who ſwallow all the tobacco ſmoke, and others who after having ſwallowed and kept it ſome time in the ſtomach, eject it through the noſe.

On the 3d of the ſame month he received at the fort ſeveral Scioux, among whom was Ouacantapai,[30] chief of the village. Soon after two Canadians who had gone hunting arrived; they had been robbed by the Scioux of the Eaſt, who had taken away their guns in revenge for Mr. Le Sueur's ſettling on Blue river. On the 14th the fort was

30 The root is here evidently ſacred.
Wakonda, God, ſpirit, myſterious,

finiſhed; the name of Fort L'huiller was conferred upon it.

On the 22d two Canadians were ſent out to invite the Ayavois and the Otoctatas to come and make a village near the fort, becauſe theſe Indians are laborious and accuſtomed to cultivate the ground, and he hoped to obtain proviſions from them and make them work the mines.

On the 24th arrived ſix Oujaleſpoitous Scioux; they wiſhed to enter the fort, but they were prevented and told that men who had killed Frenchmen could not be received; this is the term employed when they have offered any inſult. The next day they came to Mr. Le Sueur's cabin to beg him to take pity on them. They wiſhed according to their cuſtom to weep over his head and make him a preſent of ſome packages of beaver, which he refuſed; he ſaid that he was aſtoniſhed that men who had robbed him ſhould have the temerity to come to him; to which they replied that they had indeed heard that the French had been plundered, but that none from their village had been preſent at this wicked act. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he knew that it was the Mendeouacantous who had killed him and not the Oüjaleſpoitous; "but you "are Scioux" he continued, "they were Scioux who "robbed me, and if I followed your manner of acting "I would tomahawk you; for is it not true that when "any ſtrangers (ſo they call the Indians who are not "Scioux) have done any wrong to a Mendeouacan-"tou, Oüjaleſpoitou or other Sciou, all the villages

"avenge it on the firſt they meet." As there was nothing to be ſaid in reply to what he told them, they had recourſe to tears and repeated according to cuſtom, *Ouaechiſſou ouaepanimanabo!* Mr. Le Sueur told them to ſtop their crying; he added that the French were good-hearted, and that he had come into the country only to take pity on them; at the ſame time he made them a preſent, telling them: "Carry back your beaver, and tell all the "Scioux that they ſhall have no more powder or "ball from me, and that they ſhall no more ſmoke "my calumet (that is to ſay, we ſhall be good "friends no longer) till they make reparation for "the plunder of the French."

The ſame day the two Canadians who had been ſent out the 22d arrived without having ſucceeded in finding the road leading to the Ayavois and Otoctata. On the 26th Mr. Le Sueur proceeded to the mine, with three canoes which he loaded with blue and green earth. It is drawn from mountains near which are the very abundant copper mines, of which Mr. L'Huillier, one of the king's farmers general, made an aſſay at Paris, in 1696. Stones alſo are found there which it would be curious to ſee employed.

On the 9th of November eight Mantantous Scioux preſented themſelves at the fort, having been ſent by the chiefs of their villages to ſay that the Mendeouacantous were ſtill at their lake on the lands eaſt of the Miſſiſſipi, and that they could not come for a long time; that all the reſt ought not to bear the

penalty of one ſingle village that had not had ſenſe; that if he would tell them in what way he wiſhed to have ſatiſfaction, they would come and make it. Mr. Le Sueur told them that he was glad that they had ſenſe, and that it was for them to ſee what they ſhould do.

On the 15th they ſaw two Mantantous Scioux arrive; theſe Indians had been ſent expreſs to announce that all the Scioux of the Eaſt and a part of thoſe of the Weſt had joined together to come to the French, becauſe they had learned that the Chriſtinaux and the Aſſinipoils were making war on them. Theſe two nations live above the fort on the eaſt, more than eighty leagues up the Miſſiſſipi.

The Aſſinipoils ſpeak Scioux, and are really of that nation; and it is only within a few years that they have been at enmity with that people. The origin of that war was this. The Chriſtinaux having obtained the uſe of firearms before the Scioux by means of the Engliſh of Hudſon's bay, came conſtantly in war againſt the Aſſinipoils, who were their neareſt neighbors; the latter finding themſelves weak aſked peace, and to render it more firm, allied themſelves to the Chriſtinaux, taking their women to wife. The other Scioux, who had not entered this alliance, and who of all time had been at war with them, continued it, ſo that one day, finding ſome Chriſtinaux among the Aſſinipoils, they tomahawked them. It was the Chriſtinaux who ſupplied the Aſſinipoils with arms and goods.

On the 16th the two Scioux returned to their

village, and it was aſcertained that the Ayavois and the Otoctatas had gone to ſtation themſelves on the ſide of the river of Miſſouri, in the neighborhood of the Maha, a nation dwelling in thoſe quarters.

On the 26th the Mantantous and Oujaleſpoitous arrived at the fort. After pitching their cabin in the wood, Ouacantapai came to beg Mr. Le Sueur to come to him. He there found ſixteen men with ſeveral women and children, who had their faces daubed with black. In the middle of this cabin were ſeveral buffalo ſkins that ſerved as a carpet. They made ſigns to him to ſit down, and at the ſame time all theſe perſons began to weep for half a quarter of an hour; then the chief offered him wild rice to eat, and according to their cuſtom put the firſt three ſpoonfuls in his mouth, after which he told him that all thoſe whom he ſaw preſent were like himſelf the relatives of Tioſcate (this was the name of the Sciou whom Mr. Le Sueur took to Canada in 1695, and who died there in 1696). At this name of Tioſcate they began to weep again, and to wipe their tears on Mr. Le Sueur's head and ſhoulders; after which Ouacantapai, reſuming his diſcourſe, told him that Tioſcate begged him to forget the inſult offered to the French by the Mendeouacantous, and to have pity on his brethren, by giving them powder and ball to defend themſelves againſt their enemies and to give life to his wives and children who were waſting with hunger in the midſt of a country full of all kinds of beaſts, having nothing to kill them with. "Behold!" added this

chief, pointing to the dead chief's wives and children, "Behold thy children, thy brethren, thy ſiſters; "it is for thee to ſee whether thou wiſheſt them "to live or die; they will live if thou giveſt them "powder and ball, on the contrary they will die if "thou refuſe it." All theſe reaſons were not needed to induce Mr. Le Sueur to yield to their requeſt; but as the Scioux never anſwer on the ſpot, eſpecially in important matters, and as he had to ſpeak to them about his eſtabliſhment, he left the cabin without ſaying anything, the chief and all thoſe who were within followed him to the gate of the fort, and after he went in they made the circuit of the fort three times, weeping and crying at the top of their voices, *Athé-ouanan*, which means, My father, take pity on us.

The next day he aſſembled in the fort the moſt eminent of both villages, and as it is impoſſible to reduce the Scioux to prevent their going to war, except by inducing them to cultivate the ground, he told them that if they wiſhed to render themſelves worthy of the king's protection, they muſt abandon their errant life and come and form a village around his ſettlement, where they would be ſheltered from the attacks of their enemies; that to facilitate the means of leading a happy life there, and ſave them from the pangs of hunger, he would give them all the corn neceſſary to plant a good deal of ground; that the king, their chief and his, when ſending him had forbidden him to trade in beaver ſkins, knowing that this hunt obliged them

to ſcatter, and expoſed them to be killed by their enemies; that in conſequence he had come to ſettle on Blue river, the neighborhood of which as they had ſeveral times aſſured him was full of all kinds of beaſts, for the ſkins of which they would ſupply all their wants; that they ſhould reflect that they could not do without the goods of the French, and that the only means not to be deprived of them was not to make war on nations allied to us; and as it is the Indian cuſtom to accompany their words with a preſent proportioned to the affair treated of, he gave them fifty pounds of powder, and as many of balls, ſix guns, ten hatchets, twelve fathoms of tobacco, and a ſteel calumet.

On the 1ſt of December the Mantantons invited Mr. Le Sueur to a great banquet; four of their cabins had been thrown into one, in which there were a hundred men ſeated around, each with his platter before him. After the repaſt Oucantapai their chief made them all ſmoke ſucceſſively the ſteel calumet which had been preſented to them; then he made a preſent to Mr. Le Sueur of a ſlave and a ſack of wild rice, and pointing to his people ſaid: "Behold the remnants of that great village "which thou didſt formerly behold ſo numerous; "all the others have been ſlain in war, and the few "men that thou ſeeſt in this cabin accept the pre-"ſent that thou makeſt them, and are reſolved to "obey that great chief of all the nations of whom "thou haſt ſpoken to us; thou muſt therefore no "longer regard us as Scioux, but as Frenchmen,

"and inſtead of ſaying that the Scioux are wretches "who have no ſenſe, and fit only to plunder and "rob the French, thou wilt ſay: My brothers are "unhappy men who have no ſenſe; we muſt try "and get them ſome; they rob us, but to prevent "them I will take care that they do not lack iron, "that is to ſay all kinds of goods. If thou doſt this "I aſſure thee that in a ſhort time the Mantantons "will become French, and will no longer have the "vices with which thou reproacheſt them." Having finiſhed this harangue he covered his head with his robe, the others imitated him; they wept for their comrades ſlain in war, and chanted a farewell to their country in ſo mournfull a tone that one could ſcarcely help ſharing their grief. Then Ouacantapai made them ſmoke again, and diſtributed among them the preſents that had been given to them, and ſaid that he was going to the Mendeouacantons to inform them of the reſolution and to invite them to do the ſame.

On the 12th three Mendeouacanton chiefs and a number of Indians of the ſame village arrived at the fort, and the next day made a kind of ſatiſfaction for the plunder they had committed on the French. They brought 400 pounds of beaver ſkins, and promiſed that next ſummer, after building canoes, and gathering in their harveſt of wild rice, they would come to ſettle near the French. The ſame day they returned to their village eaſt of the Miſſiſſipi.

Names of the Scioux Nations of the Eaſtern Part, and their Signification.

The *Mantantons*, which means village of the great lake which empties into a little one.
The *Mendeouacantons*, village of the ſpirit lake.
The *Quiopetons*, village of a lake in the river.
The *Pſioumanitons*, village of the ſeekers of wild rice.
The *Ouadebatons*, village of the river.
The *Ouaetemantons*, village of the people who are on the point of a lake.
The *Songaſquitons*, (Siſſetoans) village of the fort.

Scioux of the Weſtern Part, of whom we have any Knowledge.

The *Touchouaeſintons*, which means village of the perch.
The *Pſinchatons*, village of the red wild rice.
The *Oujateſpouetons*, village diſperſed in ſeveral little bands
The *Pſinontanhinhintons*, village of the great wild rice.
The *Tintangaonghiatons*, (Titonwans) village of the great cabin.
The *Ouaepetons*, (Warpetwans) village of the leaf.
The *Oughetgéodatons*, village of the dung.
The *Ouapeontetons*, village of thoſe who ſhoot in a great pine.
The *Hinhanetons*, (Ihanktonwan) village of the red ſtone quarry.

GRAVIER'S VOYAGE

DOWN AND UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

1700.

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF FATHER GRAVIER[1]

Of the Society of Jeſus, in 1700, from the Country of the Ilinois to the Mouth of the Miſſiſſipi, addreſſed to Father de Lamberville, and ſent from the Fort of the Miſſiſſipi, 17 leagues from its Mouth in the Gulf or Sea of Mexico, Feb. 16, 1701.

REVEREND FATHER:

Pax Chriſti.

ON my return from Michilimackinac I received your letter which you did me the honor to write by the Miſſiſſipy, addreſſed to Father Aveneau, who ſent it to me at Chika-

[1] Father James Gravier of the Society of Jeſus, the writer of this narrative, was one of the earlieſt Illinois miſſionaries, and the firſt who ſufficiently maſtered the language to compile a grammar. His philological labors were highly eſteemed, but have apparently per-

goüa,[2] whence I ſet out on the 8th of September, 1700, to come here. I arrived too late at the Illinois du Detroit,[3] of whom Father Mareſt has charge, to prevent the tranſmigration of the village of the Kaſkaſkias, which was too precipitately made on vague news of the eſtabliſhment on the Miſſiſſipi. I do not believe that the Kaſkaſkias would thus have ſeparated from the Peoüaroüa and other Illinois du Detroit, had I arrived ſooner. At all events I came ſoon enough to unite minds a little, and to prevent the inſult which the Peoüaroüa and the Moüingoüena were bent on offering to the Kaſkaſkias and French as they embarked. I ſpoke to all the chiefs in full council, and as they continue to preſerve ſome reſpect and good will for me, we ſeparated

iſhed. He is ſtated to have been a native of Languedoc, but the work that aſſerts it is of too little credit to make it certain. He arrived in Canada apparently after 1679, was at Sillery in 1684, but appears in the Illinois miſſion from 1687 to 1706. A Relation of his miſſion of the Immaculate Conception in 1693 was publiſhed at New York in 1857, and Dillon, author of the Hiſtory of Indiana, had his Regiſter from 1695 to 1699. He deſcended the Miſſiſſippi in 1700, but returned to his miſſion, and ſome years after was wounded in the body and in the arm by ſome of the Peorias, at the inſtigation of the medicine men. He deſcended to Mobile to get his wounds treated, and Bénard de la Harpe notes his arrival there January 16, 1706, adding that he was not yet out of danger. Mareſt ſays that he died ſoon after.

[2] He evidently ſtarts from the Miami miſſion, mentioned in St. Coſme's journal. Claude Aveneau was at Detroit in 1687, and by his gentleneſs and patience acquired a great influence over the Miamis, who were ever at peace with the French till the meddleſome La Motte Cadillac forced him to leave the miſſion. His return in 1707 was the ſignal of peace.

[3] This deſignation does not appear elſewhere, and I cannot diſcover what *ſtrait* is referred to. It evidently includes the Peorias.

very peaceably. But I augur no good from this ſeparation, which I have always hindered, ſeeing but too clearly the evil reſults. God grant that the road from Chikagoüa to the Strait (au Detroit) be not cloſed, and the whole Illinois miſſion ſuffer greatly. I avow to you, Rev. Father, that it rends my heart to ſee my old flock thus divided and diſperſed, and I ſhall never ſee it, after leaving it, without having ſome new cauſe of affliction. The Peoüaroüa, whom I left without a miſſionary (ſince Father Mareſt has followed the Kaſkaſkias) have promiſed me that they would preſerve the Church, and that they would await my return from the Miſſiſſipi, where I told them that I went only to aſſure myſelf of the truth of all that was ſaid about it. This gave them great pleaſure: they promiſed me that they would leave their village only when I ſhould direct them, or the great chief down the river wiſhed them to tranſport it. I much doubt whether they will keep their word.

After having marched four days with the Kaſkaſkias,[4] I went ahead with Father Mareſt, whom I left ſick at the Tamarouha, where Father Pinet diſcharges peaceably all the functions of miſſionary, and Mr. Bergier,[5] who gets along very well with

4 Father Marquette and Allouez found the Kaſkaſkias on the upper waters of the Illinois. This journal ſhows when and why they removed to the preſent Kaſkaſkia. It was in the view of joining the French in Louiſiana, that they ſet out, but Gravier's influence induced a halt, which proved a laſting one.

5 Rev. John Bergier, a prieſt of the Seminary of Quebec, arrived in Canada, it is ſaid, in 1683. He was not of Mr. Montigny's party,

us, has care only of the French, and this is a good relief for Father Pinet.

I ſtarted from the Tamarouha the 9th October, to come here at the lower part of the Miſſiſſipi, to aſſiſt Father du Ru.[6] I was accompanied by five canoes of Frenchmen. For my part I had in my canoe only Brother Guibert and a Frenchman ſick with the tertian fever. At two leagues from the village I found the Tamarouha, who have taken up their winter quarters in a beautiful bay, where they await the Metchigamia, who are to come over ſixty leagues to winter, and form only one village with them. One of our miſſionaries is to viſit them every ſecond day all the winter long, and do as much for the Kaoükia, who have taken their winter quarters four leagues above the village.

We made only four leagues the firſt day, in conſequence of one of our canoes being opened by a ſnag [*chicot*] hidden in the water, which ſtopped us to repair it.

but ſoon followed, as we here find him at Cahokia (Tamarois) in September, 1700. He probably ſucceeded St. Coſme at the Tamarois. On Pinet's death, he became Indian miſſionary alſo, and ſtruggled manfully with the medicine men, but his health failed, and after being viſited in his ſickneſs by Father Mareſt, died, it is ſaid, in 1710. On a viſit to Mobile in 1707 he firſt announced the aſſaſſination of his predeceſſor, the Rev. Mr. St. Coſme.

6 Father du Ru came out as chaplain to Iberville, and planted a croſs at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, the inſcription on which is given at the end of this journal. He founded the Oumas miſſion, erecting a chapel oppoſite the temple. He was ſoon ſucceeded by Father de Lymoges, and remained in the ſettlement, but became involved in diſputes with Mr. Sauvolle, the commander. His companion, Father Dongé, fell a victim to the climate, and he returned to Europe

On the 10th day, after a league's progreſs, we diſcovered the river Miaramigoüa,[7] where the very rich lead mine is, twelve or thirteen leagues from its mouth. This mine yields three-fourths.

On the 11th we killed a buffalo or wild-ox, which coſt us ten or twelve gun-ſhots, ſo well did he defend his life. The fever which ſeized my pilot obliged us to land at one in the afternoon, and in five days, although the current was ſtrong, we made only thirty-five leagues, becauſe the ſick obliged us to land early, and becauſe much time is loſt firing on the buffaloes that line the river, and who are almoſt always left to be devoured by the wolves.

On the 14th we doubled Cape St. Croix. It is a ſmall rock which makes a little iſland on the north of the Miſſiſſipi, on which Mr. de Montigny planted a croſs.[8] We took two bears there.

On the 15th, continuation of fair weather. We ſaw that day over fifty bears, and of all that we killed, we took only four to have the oil. Thoſe that came down along the Miſſiſſipi were lean, and thoſe that came from the direction of the river Ouabachci were fat. They were conſtantly going from ſouth to north. It muſt be better for them there.

You meet a number of iſlands and ſhoals in the courſe of the Miſſiſſipi river, from the Tamarouha

7 Marameg. Charlevoix, in his *Hiſt. de la Nouvelle France*, vol. III, p. 438, gives an amuſing account of the early mining attempts made here.

8 See p. 68.

to the river Oüabachi; this river keeps quite closely its direction of north to south; but three or four leagues from Oüabachi it begins to turn to the N. N. W., and does nothing but wind. We could not judge by the distance we made on the 15th what direction it takes. Father Marquette (who first discovered it nearly thirty years ago) puts it in his journal three leagues from Ouabachi, 36 deg. 47 min. We cabined in sight of this river, which comes from the south and empties into the Missisippi. At its mouth it makes a great basin two arpents from its discharge. It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the river of the Akansea, because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it.[9] Three branches are assigned to it, one that comes from the northwest, passing behind the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the Indians call properly Ouabachci.[10] The second comes from the Iroquois, and it is that called by them Ohio; and the third from the S. S. W., on which are the Chaoüanoüa,[11] and all three uniting to empty into the Missisippi, it is commonly called

9 This is an important fact not elsewhere alluded to, showing that this branch of the Dakotas must have penetrated the most early of any, before they were driven southerly and west of the Missisippi. This fact will probably base new theories as to the Ohio mound builders, possibly the people who were attacked by, but repulsed the Arkansas, unless it is more pleasing to make them the mound builders who fled down the Missisippi, like the fabulous Alligewi of the school books of other days.

10 Here Gravier distinctly states the Wabash to be the Indian name of the river that now bears the name.

11 The Shawnees. This branch is the Tennessee.

Ouabachi; but the Illinois and the other Indians call it the River of the Akanſea. Its water is clear, and it does not ſeem very rapid. It falls gently into the Miſſiſſipi, which loſes a little of the muddy color given it by the River of the Miſſouris.

I found an excellent remedy to cure our French of their fevers. I promiſed God jointly with Peter de Bonne, who had a violent tertian fever for a conſiderable time, to recite for nine days ſome prayers in honor of Father Francis Regis,[12] whoſe relics I have, which I applied to him in the height of his fever, when it ceaſed ſuddenly, and he had no more of it after that time. After my novena I reſumed my reliquary, which I hung around the neck of Louis de Hemme of Rivière du Loup, with whom I began a ſecond novena, and from the firſt day the fever left him; and having taken off my reliquary the fourth or fifth day of the novena to hang it on the neck of one by name Auguſtine La Pointe of Cote St. Michel in Canada, who had already had two or three attacks of fever, it took du Hemme again, who ſeeing himſelf cured, had ſaid that I was not afraid of being ſick with that reliquary always hung around his neck, and as ſoon as I took

12 St. John Francis Regis was a Jeſuit miſſionary in France, who, failing to obtain permiſſion to devote himſelf to the Indians in America, ſpent his life in giving religious inſtruction to the poor country people, who were much neglected in ſome parts of France. He died at Puy in the Velay, in 1640, in the midſt of his labors. His virtues and favors led to his canonization in 1737. The Indian town of St. Regis, in northern New York, commemorates the ſervices of this devoted evangeliſt of the poor.

it off, the fever came back and did not leave him till after the novena, and La Pointe was cured perfectly from the firſt day that I hung my reliquary around his neck, which I did not remove till the novena was completed. And at this moment Pierre Chabot of Iſle Orleans, who had the fever for more than ſix months, having hung it on his neck, the third day of the novena that ſtubborn fever diminiſhed and he was entirely rid of it at the end of the novena. A ſmall piece of Father Regis's hat, which one of our domeſtics gave me is the moſt infallible remedy that I can have to cure all kinds of fevers.

Now to reſume my route. We ſtarted on the 16th of October from the mouth of the Oüabachi, with very favorable weather, and we found the Miſſiſſipi leſs rapid than above the Oüabachi. As we had a great quantity of meat, we dried in haſte a part of the beſt, and the great heat obliged us to throw away the reſt. We ſaw ſo great a quantity of wild pigeons, that the air was darkened and quite covered by them. We ran all day S. S. W., and five leagues below Ouabachi on the ſouth ſide, we found great bluffs of ſand, where there is ſaid to be an iron mine. The pretended plates of iron attached to pebbles, are anything but what was ſuppoſed and what I was told. They are merely veins of hard and almoſt petrified earth, which have indeed the color of iron, but which are not heavy, and break eaſily. I took a piece to ſhow that if there is an iron mine, it muſt not be judged by that earth.

A little lower down, we began to diſcover canes on the hillocks. They are covered with evergreen leaves from the bottom to the point, which terminates in a little tuft of leaves. They are not over ſeven or eight feet high on the ſides of the hills, but are twenty, thirty, and forty feet high in the woods, eſpecially from the Akanſea.

On the 18th, in three hours time, we boxed the compaſs, and after running a little while E. S. E., we went half round it again in a bay of more than two leagues, which can be cut acroſs at high water.

On the 19th we overtook the two canoes that had left us, and about two o'clock in the afternoon we found on the north ſide, three or four leagues further down, beyond a little prairie, an echo which repeats five words diſtinctly, and begins to repeat what you ſay only when you finiſh pronouncing the laſt word.

On the 20th great heat; we ſlept in ſight of great bluffs of ſtone, called Fort Prud'homme, becauſe Mr. de la Salle, going on his diſcovery, entrenched himſelf here with his party, fearing that Prud'homme, who had got loſt in the woods, had been killed by the Indians, and that he himſelf would be attacked. Laſt year a quantity of bears were killed at this place. The rain detained us the 22d and 23d on a great ſand bank, whence we gained an iſland where there was petrified wood. I do not know whether it is a ſpring or a ſtream of water that has this power, as there is in Auvergne, on the confines of Bourbonnois, a mineral fountain

that petrifies the leaves of the trees that fall in; or whether it is the ſun which blackens and hardens ſmall bits of rotten wood left on the ſand after the high waters. Be that as it may, I ſaw large and ſmall; it cannot be doubted, for there are ſome that are not yet petrified, and which are part wood and part black ſtone which breaks eaſily. A blackſmith who was in the party took the petrified wood for coal, but beſides its not being ſo heavy, he was convinced of the contrary by throwing it into the fire.

On the 24th we found a quantity of grapes, but they are nothing to what had been repreſented to me, and neither as good nor as large as thoſe found on the River of the Illinois, and eſpecially on the River of the Miamis and in greater quantity.

On the 25th there fell ſo heavy a rain that we had to get up on a hill more than thirty feet high and tranſport our cabin there.

On the 26th we paſſed the Rivière a Mayot[13] on the ſouth, from the name of an Indian of the Mohegan nation who was of Mr. de la Salle's party. This river does not ſeem to be very large, but is ſaid to be a good hunting ground, and that the Chickacha come to its mouth, from which they are only three day's journey, cutting ſouth inland.

A league or two lower down we found a periagua of Taogria.[14] They are people of the Mohegan

13 Riviere á Margot.

14 Benard de la Harpe mentions the Taogarios as a nation ſettled on the river of Caſquinambo (Tenneſſee), a branch of the Ohio, and aſcribes the butchery of ſome Frenchmen to the Engliſh ſettled among

nation, who trade much with the Engliſh. There were only ſix men, a woman, and child; they were coming from the Akanſea. The one who ſeemed to me the moſt conſiderable ſaid ſome Illinois words, and ſpoke Chaoüanoüa. He made me ſit down on a bear ſkin ſpread before his field cabin, and preſented me ſagamity to eat; he then told me as news that Father de Limoges,[15] (whom he called Captain Pauiongha) had capſized in his canoe and loſt every thing; and that the Kappa Akanſea had given him proviſions and a canoe to continue his journey. I gave him a knife and half a box of vermillion. He made me a preſent of a large piece of meat of his chaſe. A league after parting with him we killed four does. We did not expect ſuch a piece of good luck; and we neither killed nor ſaw another beaſt from Rivière à Mayot to the ſea.

On the 27th we paſſed St. Francis river at the point of a turn to the north, eighteen leagues from the Akanſea.

On the 29th leaving our cabinage we ran weſt and then kept ſouthweſt. About noon we diſcovered four periaguas of Akanſeas; when my canoe got near land, an old man came into the water and carried me aſhore on his ſhoulders. The chief made me ſit down on a great bearſkin, and the French on oſier branches, which he made his young

them. It is therefore worth while to inveſtigate who were theſe Algonquin Indians on the Tenneſſee known to the Engliſh in 1700.

15 Father Joſeph de Lymoges muſt have been on the Illinois miſſion, and on his way down at this time. After his Oumas miſſion all trace of him diſappears.

men cut. He preſented me two piakimina cakes, which I diſtributed among the French; and afflicted as I was that they did not underſtand me, wiſhing to ſpeak to them of God, I retired to pray for them, while the kettles were boiling. They ſerved me a plate of ſagamity of ſmall Indian corn, and another of ſmall corn whole, ſeaſoned with excellent ſquaſh. I made a little preſent to the chief of the band, and on the 30th we went and cabined a league lower down, half a league from the old village of the Akanſea, where they formerly received the late Father Marquette, and which is diſcernible now only by the old outworks *(dehors)*, there being no cabins left.

On the 31ſt, about 9 A. M., we arrived at the village of the Kappa Akanſea, who are at 24 deg., according to Father Marquette's eſtimate. The village is half a league from the water's edge. Mr. de Montigny planted a croſs on the hill, which is very ſteep, and forty feet high. After ſaluting the croſs and chanting the Vexilla Regis with the French we notified the Akanſea by three guns, and in leſs than half a quarter of an hour at moſt, two young men appeared ſword in hand, followed cloſe by the chief of the Kappas and the chief of the Tourima, and twenty or thirty well made young men with their bows and arrows. Some had ſwords, and two or three Engliſh guns, given to them laſt year by the man who brought them a lot of merchandiſe to alienate them from the French, and eſpecially from the miſſionaries, whom he had an averſion

againſt, boaſting that he would put the firſt he met in irons and put them to death. The French who took him found wherewith to make him a pair of handcuffs with irons, and prevented his doing all the harm he propoſed to do.[16] He had already two concubines at the Kappas.

To reſume; the chiefs invited me to go to their village, which conſiſts of forty cabins. A part of the French accompanied me there, while the others guarded the canoes at anchor. They took me to the cabin of the chief, who made me ſit down on a mat of dreſſed canes, and at the ſame time put on the fire a kettle of ſmall Indian corn, ſeaſoned plentifully with dried peaches. They brought me from another cabin a large platter of ripe fruit of piakimina It is pretty much like the French medlar. The platter was preſented to the chief to hand to me. As it is the moſt excellent fruit the Indians have from the Illinois to the ſea, the chief did not fail to begin his feaſt with it. After taſting a little I paſſed the diſh to Brother Guibert and the French who ſat oppoſite me. I did the ſame with the ſagamity. I remarked that all who entered the cabin ſtood at the door, and advanced only when the chief told them to do ſo and ſit down. There was a Metchigamikoüé woman there, who acted as my interpreter, and confirmed the ſtory of

16 It is probably impoſſible, at this day, to diſcover who were theſe adventurous Engliſhmen who were ſo early on the Miſſiſſippi, leading Chickaſaws to attack the Colapiſſas, ſettling among the Arkanſas, trading on the Tenneſſee.

Father de Limoges' capſizing and loſs of all he had. She gave him her proviſion of Indian corn and ſquaſhes to carry him as far as the Natchez, and the chief gave him an earthen pot, after regaling him as well as he could. I aſked him whether he recollected to have formerly ſeen a Frenchman dreſſed in black, attired like me, in their village. He replied that he recollected it well, but that it was ſo long ago that he could not count the years. I told him that it was more than twenty-ſeven years. He added that they danced the Captain's calumet to him, which I did not at once underſtand, ſuppoſing that he ſpoke of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaſkaſkias had given Father Marquette to carry with him on the Miſſiſſipi as a ſafeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they did in fact dance the calumet to him. He then had me aſked in how many days I would ſtart, and having told him that I had come aſhore merely to ſalute him in his cabin, and that I was going to embark, he begged me to remain at leaſt one day, to have proviſions prepared, and that all the young men of his village were very glad to ſee me. I replied to his compliment and ſtated that I was in haſte to get to my journey's end. I had previouſly inquired whether there were any ſick; my interpreter informed me that there were none. At laſt, after a good deal of going and coming, and many conſultations with his people, the chief of the village aſked me to ſtay till next day, becauſe he wiſhed to dance the chief's calumet with his young men to me. As this is a ſpecial

honor which is done but rarely, and only to perſons of diſtinction, I thanked him for his good will, ſaying that I did not eſteem myſelf a captain, and that I was ſtarting immediately. My anſwer pleaſed the French, but it was ſcarcely agreeable to all the others, who by doing me this honor hoped to draw preſents from me. The chief conducted me to the water's edge, followed by all his people, and they brought me a quantity of dried peaches, piachimina, and ſquaſhes. I made a preſent to the chief of a little lead and powder, and a box of vermillion to daub his youth, and ſome other trifle which he was much pleaſed with, telling him that I thanked him for the ſervice he had rendered Father Limoges. After I embarked they fired four guns, to which the people with me reſponded. Two leagues from the village there is a little river, on which they go in canoes in the ſpring, behind the hills, to their cabin doors.

As I have here mentioned the calumet, you will be pleaſed to have me tell you ſomething of it here. There is nothing among these Indians more myſterious or commendable. No ſuch honor is paid to the crowns and ſceptres of kings as they pay to it. It ſeems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. To carry and ſhow it enables you to march with aſſurance amid enemies who in the heat of the combat lay down their arms when it is ſhown. It was on this account that the Illinois gave one to the late Father Marquette as a ſafeguard among the nations of the Miſſiſſipi,

through whom he was to pass on his voyage going to the diſcovery of this river and the nations dwelling on it.

There is a calumet for peace and one for war, which are diſtinguiſhed ſimply by the colour of the feathers with which they are trimmed. The red is a mark of war; they uſe it alſo to ſettle their diſputes, to confirm alliances and to ſpeak to ſtrangers. It is a kind of pipe to ſmoke tobacco, made of a red ſtone poliſhed like marble and pierced ſo that one end ſerves to receive the tobacco and the other fits on the handle. This is a hollow piece of wood, two feet long, and as thick as an ordinary cane. It is by reaſon of this that the French have ſtyled it Calumet, corrupting the word *Chalumeau*, becauſe it reſembles a pipe, or rather a long flute. It is embelliſhed with the head or neck of various birds, whoſe plumage is very beautiful. They add alſo large red or green or other coloured feathers, with which it is all trimmed. They eſteem it eſpecially becauſe they regard it as the calumet or pipe of the ſun, and in fact they proffer it to him to ſmoke when they wiſh to obtain calm, rain or fair weather. They would ſcruple to bathe in the beginning of hot weather, or to eat new fruits till after they had danced the calumet, that is to ſay, the chief holds it in his hands ſinging airs, to which the others reſpond, dancing and making geſtures in time with the ſound of certain inſtruments of the faſhion of ſmall drums.

On the 1ſt of November moſt of the French

approached the ſacraments, and after celebrating the feaſt[17] in the beſt way we could, we continued our voyage and diſcovered the river of the Akanſea eight leagues from the village of the Kappa.

The Sittëoüi Akanſea are five leagues above its mouth and are much more numerous than the Kappa and Tourima; theſe are the three villages of the Akanſea.[18] This river, which is on the north of the Miſſiſſipi, is very beautiful; it divides into three branches a league from the village of the Ouſitteoüi, it runs N. W. and by aſcending it they go to reach the river of the Miſſouris by making a portage. They reckon 60 leagues from the Kappa to the river of the Toumika, and on the third day we paſſed Pointe Coupée, which is half way. We were then at anchor for ſix days of rain, and did not make much progreſs.

On the 7th a furious fog aroſe and the rain obliged us to cabin on a hill more than 40 or 50 feet high, and at 7 P. M. we were ſurpriſed by a furious gale. It laſted over an hour and gave all hands plenty of exerciſe to ſave the canoes and baggage, and threatened to cruſh us every moment under the trees that were falling around us. When the wind fell the rain was ſo violent for two days that I never ſaw the like.

Our people killed a crocodile three fathoms long. It is an animal of the colour of a toad, ſhaped like a lizard. It is often found on land and

[17] Feaſt of All Saints.

[18] See page 75 n.

although it walks very ſlowly, men ſeldom approach it unleſs well armed. The ſcales with which it is covered are proof againſt ſmall ſhot, and require a ball to pierce them; I do not know how the Indians do, who have only arrows, unleſs they ſlide under the ſcales behind. Its mouth is very large and armed with two rows of teeth longer than a bear's. It makes you ſhudder to ſee it and hear it grit its teeth. They say that the tongue is good eating, but I have not yet had the curioſity to taſte it or the reſt of the body, which moſt of the Indians eſteem a great dainty. From time to time it coſts the life of ſome of thoſe who venture to plunge in to take them after they are wounded. Many are to be ſeen larger than this one.

On the 13th, after the maſs of the Bleſſed Staniſlaus,[19] we ſet out and the next day reached the river of the Tounika. I left the five canoes of French at the mouth; it is on the ſouth of the Miſſiſſippi. I embarked in my canoe to go and viſit Mr. Davion, miſſionary prieſt, who was ſick; I left my canoe four leagues from the river at the foot of a hill, where there are five or ſix cabins. The road, which is two leagues by land, is quite pretty. I found piakimina trees loaded with fruit and many copal trees exuding gum. We paſſed in the roads canes forty feet high and thick as your arm. The ſtalk of the corn, which we call Indian corn, is over fifteen to twenty feet high, and ſo are the ſun

19 St. Staniſlaus Koſtka of the Society of Jeſus; he was at this time beatified, and was canonized in the year 1727.

flowers and thick in proportion. We ſaw five or ſix hamlets of a few cabins, and I was ſurprized that the Indians, who ſo rarely ſee Frenchmen, ſhowed ſo little curioſity. There was none except at Mr. Davion's village, where all the people eſcorted me to the houſe of that fervent miſſionary, whom I found in bed with the fever. He aroſe next day to receive at my maſs, and went out for the firſt time with me to viſit ſome cabins. He converſed with me with great frankneſs on the miſſion which he is beginning to eſtabliſh, and God bleſſes his zeal and the ſtudy which he makes of the language, which he begins to ſpeak better than could be naturally expected from a perſon of his age. There are three different languages in his miſſion, the Jakou[20] of 30 cabins, the Ounſpik of 10 or 12 cabins, and the Toumika who are in ſeven hamlets, and who compriſe in all 50 or 60 ſmall cabins. He devotes himſelf only to this laſt language, and the Tounika being the moſt numerous give name to the miſſion. They are very docile; polygamy is rare among them, but their caprice and the cuſtom of the country authorizes repudiation for next to nothing, for which reaſon the village is ſcarcely peopled, and I ſaw hardly any children. The girls are not ſo looſe or bold as they are among the Natchez and Taenſa. They acknowledge nine gods, the ſun, thunder, fire, the god of the eaſt, ſouth, north and weſt, of heaven and of earth. In each cabin there is a great poſt that ſupports it, at

[20] Apparently the Yazoos.

the foot of which there are two or three little earthen pots near the fire, out of which they take a little aſhes to put in theſe pots, from I know not what ſuperſtition. This is the poſt of the ſpirit or genius. They are ſo cloſe-mouthed as to all the myſteries of their religion that the miſſionary could not diſcover anything about it. The women have a dreſs of mulberry cloth which they ſpin like hemp and flax; it is a ſtrong, thick cloth. Their petticoat is very decent, from the waiſt to below the knees; there is a fringe very well worked as well as their mantle, either all uniform or worked in lozenges or in ſquares or in ermine, which they wear uſually as a ſaſh, and rarely on the two ſhoulders. Neither men nor women greaſe or oil their hair like all our Canadian Indians, but this is perhaps from lack of both (greaſe and oil), bear's meat and deer being very rare in their village as well as all other beaſts. The women have a great treſs of hair on the back which hangs down below the waiſt; they alſo make a crown of it around the head. Their head like the men's is flat. Mothers carefully put their children's heads in preſs from birth to render them flat. Moſt of the men have long hair, and no dreſs but a wretched deer ſkin. Sometimes they too, as well as the women, have mantles of turkey feathers or of muſkrats ſkins well woven and worked. The men do here what peaſants do in France; they cultivate and dig the earth, plant and harveſt the crops, cut the wood and bring it to the cabin, dreſs the deer

and buffalo ſkins when they have any. They dreſs them the beſt of all Indians that I have ſeen. The women do only indoor work, make the earthen pots and their clothes. Their cabins are round and vaulted. They are lathed with canes and plaſtered with mud from bottom to top, within and without with a good covering of ſtraw. There is no light except by the door, and no matter how little fire there is (the smoke of which has no eſcape but the door) it is as hot as a vapour bath. At night a lighted torch of dried canes ſerves as a candle and keeps all the cabin warm. Their bed is of round canes, raiſed on four poſts, three feet high, and a cane mat ſerves as a mattraſs. Nothing is neater than their cabins. You ſee there neither clothes, nor ſacks, nor kettles, nor hatchets, nor guns; they carry all with them and have no riches but earthenpots quite well made; eſpecially little glazed pitchers, as neat as you would ſee in France; their granaries are near their cabins, made like dove-cotes, built on four large poſts 15 or 16 feet high, well put together and well poliſhed, ſo that the mice cannot climb up, and in this way they protect their corn and ſquaſhes, which are ſtill better than thoſe of the Illinois. There are no peaches in this village as there at the Akanſea; but ſuch an abundance of piakimina, that they go in the woods with their families to harveſt them, as the Illinois go with their families to hunt the buffalo, which is very rare in this country, where they live on this fruit in the woods for a month, beſides which they

pound and dry great quantities which they preſerve for a long time. They have only one ſmall temple raiſed on a mound of earth. They never enter it, Mr. Davion told me, except when going to or returning from war, and do not make all the howlings of the Taenſa and Natches when they paſs in front of their temples, where there is always an old man who maintains the fire.

Mr. St. Coſme having learned that Mr. Davion was *in extremis*, arrived from the miſſion of the Natchés. Before my departure they both confirmed Father de Limoge's accident, and his ſaving only his chalice and crucifix of all that he had with him. They gave him all that he needed to go to the Fort of the Miſſiſſipi, greatly edified at the joy and firmneſs which he diſplayed in the very conſiderable loſs he ſuſtained of all the miſſion furniture, bleſſing God, they told me, for thus weaning him from all he had. The Natchés, Mr. de St. Coſme aſſured me, are far from being as docile as the Tounika. They practice polygamy, ſteal and are very vicious, the girls and women more than the men and boys, among whom there is much to reform before anything can be expected of them. The Taenſas, who ſpeak the ſame language, have the ſame habits also; their village is twenty leagues from the river of the Tounika. It is four leagues inland. After one league's march, you come to a lake where there are always a number of alligators. It muſt be croſſed in a canoe to reach the village, which is more cloſe ſet than that of the Tounika.

The temple having been reduced to aſhes laſt year by lightning, which fell on a matter as combuſtible as the canes with which it is thatched, the old man who is its guardian, ſaid that the ſpirit was incenſed becauſe no one was put to death on the deceaſe of the laſt chief, and that it was neceſſary to appeaſe him. Five women had the cruelty to caſt their children into the fire, in ſight of the French who recounted it to me, or rather gave them to the old man who caſt them into the fire while making his invocations and chanting with theſe women during the cruel ceremony, and but for the French there would have been a great many more children burnt. The chief's cabin having been converted into a temple the five unnatural mothers were borne to it in triumph as five heroines.

At the point of the turn where the village is, the river is not over an arpent and a half wide, and forms a ſtrait, where it is very difficult to ſtem the current, and it is here that Mr. de la Salle ſays there is a whirlpool where trees plunge in root up and come out only half a league lower down. I did not perceive this, perhaps it occurred only when he paſſed or is ſeen only from time to time. After meeting with heavy rains which would have inundated all our baggage by night, had I ſlept as ſoundly as our canoe men, we had pretty fair weather to reach the Natches, ſouth of the Taenſas, from whom they are only twenty leagues diſtant. After mounting a little bluff you

find a great beaten road leading to a rather ſteep hill, more than half which is covered in the high waters. On top of this hill you diſcern a noble prairie. The moſt beaten road leads to the village where the temple is; the others running off right and left, lead to different hamlets. There are only four cabins in that in which the temple is. It is very ſpacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies, which it would be prolix to inſert here. They begin by a four days' faſt with emetics, till blood comes. There is no window, no chimney in this temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can ſee a little, and then the door which is very low and narrow muſt be open. I imagine that the obſcurity of the place inſpires them with reſpect. The old man who is the keeper, keeps the fire up and takes great care not to let it go out. It is in the centre of the temple in front of a ſort of mauſoleum after the Indian faſhion. There are three, about eight or nine feet long, ſix feet broad and nine or ten feet high. They are ſupported by four large poſts covered with mats of canes in quite neat columns and ſurmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with ſmoke and covered with ſoot. There is a large mat which ſerves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or ſix cane mats on which ſtands a large baſket that it is unlawful to open, as the ſpirit of each nation of thoſe quarters repoſes there, they ſay, with that of the

Natches. I am provoked at myſelf for not opening the baſket, although I would have offended the old man to have opened the curtain and touched this baſket. There are others in the other two mauſoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they ſay, which they revere as divinities. All that I ſaw ſomewhat rare was a piece of rock cryſtal, which I found in a little baſket. I ſaw a number of little earthen pots, platters, and cups, and little cane baſkets, all well made. This is to ſerve up food to the ſpirits of the deceaſed chiefs, and the temple keeper finds his profit in it.

After examining all that there is in this temple, I ſaw neither there nor elſewhere, the gold, ſilver, or precious ſtones, or riches, or nine fathoms of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation printed in the name of Mr. de Tonty, and which he has diſavowed to one who reproached him with all the falſehoods with which it is ſtuffed.[21] It is alſo a fable, what that writer ventures to mention as having been ſeen by Mr. Tonty in a little cloſet ſet in the mud covered wall, where I neither ſaw nor taſted the exquiſite liquors of which he ſpeaks. Theſe things are all invented by the ſame writer to ſet off his account. It is a fact that the chief's wife has ſome ſmall pearls, which are neither round nor well pierced, but about ſeven or eight which are as

21 The real narrative of the Sieur de Tonty exiſts, but only an imperfect Engliſh tranſlation has appeared. The fictitious character of the one iſſued in his name was at once expoſed and it was always diſavowed by him.

large as ſmall peas, which were bought for more than their value after a good deal of ſeeking. There are none of the riches or rareties which they pretended were to be found in the temple and village. The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville[22] left there to learn the language, told me that on the death of the laſt chief, they put to death two women, three men and three children; they ſtrangled them with a bowſtring, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, theſe wretched victims deeming themſelves greatly honored to accompany their chief by a violent death. There were only ſeven for the great chief who died one month before. His wife, better adviſed than the others, did not wiſh to follow him, and began to weep when they wiſhed to oblige her to accompany her huſband. Mr. de Montigni, who has left this country to go to Siam, being informed of what they were accuſtomed to do, made them promiſe not to put any one to death. As a pledge of their word they gave him a little

[22] Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, ſon of Charles Le Moyne, was born at Montreal, July 20, 1661, and like all his brothers entered the ſervice of the King. He ſerved firſt in the Indian wars, was then ſent by Denonville, in 1686, to Hudſon's bay, of which he was appointed governor. He gained ſeveral victories here, and ſubſequently took Fort Pemaquid, and recovered Newfoundland. In 1698, he ſailed from Rochelle, and diſcovering the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which La Salle had miſſed, eſtabliſhed a colony, which he left under the command of his brothers, de Sauvolle and de Bienville. He was the father of Louiſiana, and made ſeveral voyages to it bearing coloniſts, ſupplies and arms. In 1706 he ſailed from France with a large fleet, intended to attack Charleſton, but ſtopping at St. Domingo died there of the yellow fever July 9, 1706. It is a reproach that no detailed memoir has been written of Iberville and his brother Bienville.

female ſlave whom they had reſolved to put to death but for his prohibition: but to keep their curſed cuſtom without its being perceived, the chief's wife, whom they call Ouachil Tamail, ſun-woman (who is always the ſiſter and not the wife of the great chief), perſuaded him to retire to a diſtant village ſo as not to have his head ſplit with the noiſe they would make in a ceremony where all were to take part. Mr. de Montigni not ſuſpecting anything believed her and withdrew, but in his abſence they put to death thoſe whom they believed to be neceſſary to go to cook and wait on the chief in the other world. Only the old men enter the temple to make their howlings, ſuch as I ſaw them do, after kindling the fire.

All the men who paſs before the temple lay down what they carry, and extend their arms towards the temple with loud howlings, and if they have ſmall children they take them in their arms and turning towards the temple, they make them touch the ground three times with the forehead. They make theſe ſame howls when they paſs before the chief or the woman chief, or ſpeak to them, or give them food or drink or [a pipe] to ſmoke. The woman chief has much ability and more credit than one would think; her brother is no great genius. He has remarried nine times without any woman being able to ſtay with him; they have all left him and at preſent he lives alone by himſelf.

The women are clothed quite properly and well covered with a mantle that comes down below the

knee. Moſt of them have black teeth, it is a beauty among them. They blacken them by chewing the coal of tobacco, with the aſhes of which they rub the teeth every morning.

The corn was not yet gathered in. The firſt harveſt is made in theſe parts in the month of June; and the ſecond, which is the moſt abundant, is not made till the end of November. Beſides offering their firſt fruits in the temple in this village, the woman chief made the harveſt of corn for the temple, and no one durſt refuſe what her emiſſaries choſe to take. This harveſt is made for the chief and the woman chief, and to furniſh food to the ſpirits of the deceaſed chiefs; but all take part in the feaſt made to them for ſix days with the ordinary howls, cries and ceremonies, which they do not wiſh to explain to the miſſionaries, to whom for all anſwer they ſay: *Nou-kou*, that is to ſay, *I do not know why it is done*. All depends on the commiſſion of the chiefs who have too great an intereſt in paſſing for ſpirits among their people to embrace Chriſtian humility ſo ſoon.[23]

[23] The Natchez are the tribe of the Lower Miſſiſſippi, beſt known to all readers from the maſſacre which they committed on the French and the exterminating war conſequently waged againſt them. Known perhaps to the Spaniards as early as 1560, when Triſtan de Luna marched againſt them. They are next mentioned by the chroniclers of La Salle's expedition, and as we have ſeen were viſited by the miſſionary St. Côme, who gained their affection, but did not ſucceed in converting many. After his death no miſſionary reſided there to check the injuſtice of the whites; war enſued in 1716-23, but though peace was made, reſentment remained, and in 1729 they roſe againſt the French, in conſequence of the tyranny of a French commandant.

We left this village of the Natchez on the 24th and 25th of November. We diſcovered the hills of the Houmas[24] on the ſouth of the Miſſiſſipi, which forms a bay, that you enter, leaving the main channel on the right. It is a good league and a half from the landing to the village of the Houmas by a bad enough road, all ups and downs and bending half double in the canes. The village is ſituated on the creſt of a mountain rugged and precipitous on all ſides. There are eighty cabins, and in the middle of the village a fine level ſquare, where from morning to night there are young men who exerciſe themſelves in running after a flat ſtone which they throw in the air from one end of the ſquare to

The French, aided by the Choctaws, then attacked them, and deſtroyed their national exiſtence. Many periſhed, many were taken and ſold as ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, the reſt fled to the Chickaſaws, and as this involved them in war, retired finally to the Creeks, where a remnant ſtill remains. Their language was peculiar to themſelves, and the Taenſas. (*Du Pratz, Montigni, ante* p. 76.)

24 The Houmas or Oumas, the tribe here deſcribed, and one of the firſt whom any attempt was made to convert, gave ſhelter in 1706 to the Tonicas, who had been driven from their village by the Chickaſaws and Alabamas, at the inſtigation of the Engliſh; but the Tonicas played the ſame treachery towards them that the Taenſas did to the Baiougoulas, ſurpriſing them, and killing more than half the nation. The ſurvivors fled to the Bayou St. Jean, which flows into Lake Ponchartrain near the ſite of New Orleans. (La Harpe, *Journal Hiſtoriquc*, 100.) Charlevoix, in 1721, found them a little higher up (vol. III, p. 436). A few huts of this nation ſtill exiſt on the Red river, according to ſome accounts, and below Manchac and in the vicinity of the Attakapas, according to others. The name is Choctaw, and means red men, from humma, *red* (*Archæol. Americana*, II, 115-17); but no vocabulary of the language enables us to decide to what diviſion they belonged.

the other, and which they try to have fall on two cylinders that they roll where they think that the ſtone will fall. The temple has nothing handſome but the veſtibule which is adorned with the moſt agreeable groteſques and the beſt made almoſt that one could ſee. They are four ſatyrs, two of whom are *en boſſe*, all four ſtanding out from the wall, having around the head, hands and feet in bands, bracelets, garters, baldrics and belts, ſnakes, mice and dogs. The colors are black, white, red and yellow, and ſo well applied and without confuſion, that it is a ſpectacle that ſurpriſes agreeably. The old man who keeps up the fire which he called to us *loüak* or *loughé* (ſacred fire), ſhowed us the bones of the woman chief who died laſt year. This woman had rendered herſelf ſo important by the blows ſhe had ſtruck againſt the enemy, having led ſeveral war parties in perſon, that ſhe was regarded as an amazon and as the miſtreſs of the whole village, and more honor was paid to her than to the great chief. She had the firſt place in all councils, and when ſhe walked ſhe was always preceded by four young men who ſang and danced the calumet to her. She was dreſſed as an Amazon, painted her face and had her hair dreſſed like the men. They do not make in this village any of all the howlings uſual among the Natchez when they paſs before the temple, oppoſite which there is a chapel fifty feet long which Father du Rut built laſt ſpring, with a large croſs 35 or 40 feet high, that he planted in the village ſquare.

Father de Limoges had arrived there two or three days before to reſide there and labor in converting the Houmas, who ſeem to me very docile. The great chief is very reaſonable and ſaid that he acknowledged only one Great Spirit who had made all things. I counted ſeventy cabins in the village which I viſited with Father de Limoges, who kindly gave me the firſt fruits of his miſſion in the baptiſm of a child three days old which I performed, giving it the name of St. Francis Xavier, patron of the miſſion, to whom God opened Paradiſe a few days after, that he might there labor to convert his parents and countrymen.

On the 3d of December we celebrated the feaſt of that great ſaint as ſolemnly as we could, and I ſang the firſt high maſs ever heard in the village. I was ſurpriſed at their little curioſity. If the Miſſiſſipi is ſettled and this miſſion is not taken from us, there is reaſon to hope, from the docility of theſe poor people, that good will be done there. The women and girls there have more modeſty than among the neighboring nations. God deign to convert them and render the road to their village impaſſable to certain French libertines. All that they do to their ſick is to ſuck them till blood comes. I ſaw one in the hands of the old medicine men (jongleurs) one of whom whiſtled and played on a gourd, another ſucked, and another ſang the ſong of the alligator, the ſkin of which ſerved him as a drum.

As they reſt ſatiſfied with their ſquaſhes and corn,

of which they have plenty, they are indolent and ſeldom go hunting. They have withal the reputation of being warriors and being feared by neighboring nations. They are not cruel and very far from putting to death any of the ſlaves they make; as ſoon as they enter the village the women weep over them, compaſſionating their being taken, and then treat them better than their children. When any of their people go hunting, the women begin to cry as if they were going to loſe them, and when they return from the hunt weep with joy to ſee them again.

There are few villages in France where there are more cocks and hens than in that of the Houmas,[25] for they never kill them, and will not even eat thoſe killed frequently by the dogs. When you wiſh to get chickens from them, you muſt not ſay that you wiſh to kill or eat them, as they would be reluctant to give them, but they will ſell them readily when they are not killed in their preſence, or when people tell them they carry them away to bring them up as they do. The hens have chickens at all times, and they were running around in all the cabins in the month of December. They keep warm in theſe cabins, which they take care to keep clean and ſweep two or three times a day.

The children, men and youth are dreſſed like the Tounikas. The women wear a fringed robe, which

25 Theſe were got originally from a veſſel wrecked at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and had, as we ſee by this, been kept as curioſities, or perhaps objects of ſuperſtition, and not as articles of food.

covers them from the waiſt to below the knee. When they leave their cabins they put on a robe of muſkrat ſkins or turkey feathers. They have the face tattoed (*piqué et figuré*) and the hair plaited like the Tounika and Natchés, and blacken the teeth like them. Although all Indians are extremely afraid of cold, at the leaſt froſt (for there is no winter) they go bathing, big and little, and come out of the water periſhing with cold. An old man gives the cry at day break when it freezes. Theſe kinds of baths ſometimes cauſe the bloody flux, which carries off many. Father de Limoges begins to make himſelf underſtood and will do good in that miſſion. He recounted his wreck to me, in which he loſt everything, and the loſs is more ſerious than you would think. More than one miſſion will feel it; it was by letting themſelves drift off in the current by night, that their canoe ſtruck againſt a tree which had ſtopped in the middle of the current and ſent it wheeling round and turning on the ſide full of water, and if he had not quickly caught hold of the tree, he would have drowned half aſleep. He loſt all but his chalice, which he got out of the box, I know not how. This is all that he could ſave, and it is a kind of miracle that he ſaved his own life, after ſtruggling for it almoſt three hours, by means of a bough of a tree borne down by the current, to which he and his two ſailors clung. He let the current carry him down, and it at laſt drove him aſhore, where being without fire they dried their clothes in the wind

and ſun as beſt they could, and made a raft of three or four pieces of floating wood which they tied together with ivy, and ſailed for three days on this new canoe, always between two waters, with nothing to eat all the time but a little wild purſlain raw. This beloved miſſionary told me that he with fruit thought of St. Francis Xavier diſputing his life as many days with the waters on a bit of plank. On the fourth day he diſcovered the fire of ſome Akanſea who were hunting. They received him and his companions very kindly, gave them food and took them to their village, where the Father found his canoe, which had caught in ſome drift wood. He has ſince been equipped with all that is neceſſary for his Houma miſſion, from which I ſet out December 4th, and after three leagues ſail we found on the north ſide of the Miſſiſſipi the Red river of which they ſpeak ſo much. If the third attempt which the French have made there in the laſt ſeven or eight months ſucceeds, the miſſionaries will have a paſſage to go there and viſit various nations that line this river which runs ſoutheaſt; they are almoſt all only little hamlets like the Natchés, which makes thoſe who wiſh to give great ideas of all theſe nations ſay that there are villages without end and three, four, five and ſix leagues in extent, wiſhing to paſs off hamlets of three or four cabins, ſeparated from each other for the convenience of the ground, for ſo many villages of the ſame nation. Mr. de Bienville[26] who has penetrated the furtheſt

[26] Le Moyne de Bienville was a brother of Iberville, and became governor of Louiſiana on the death of his brother, Le Moyne de Sau-

told me that it was all overflowed in the months of March and April, that there were ſmall heights among the Natchitoch quite thickly peopled, where the corn came up to his ſhoulder.

At the end of March Mr. de St. Denis[27] is to go to the Kadodakio,[28] and inſtead of going by the way of the Senis, where the murderers of Mr. de la Salle had retired, he is to take the left and puſh on to the Kiouahaa,[29] the moſt remote known, where they hope to find mines. He is to be back here at the cloſe of this month, and if he does not find ſilver mines they have nothing leſs than what they

volle, Aug. 22, 1700. He remained in office till 1712, M. du Muys, named to ſucceed him in 1707, having died on the way. From 1712 he was Lieutenant Governor under La Mothe Cadillac, and next Governor under Crozat and the Miſſiſſippi Company in 1726, when he was ſucceeded by M. Perier, but was reappointed in 1734, and continued in office till after his futile Chickaſaw campaign in 1739. He then returned to France and lived to ſee his native Canada paſs into the hands of England, and Louiſiana, founded and built up by himſelf and his brothers, paſs into the hands of the Spaniards. He died at Paris, March 7, 1767.

27 Juchereau de St. Denis was one of the firſt to join the colony of Louiſiana. In 1714 he explored the Red River fully, and the next year made his way to the Spaniſh poſts to negotiate a commercial treaty. His career was full of romance, and after marrying a Spaniſh lady and being ſent in chains to Mexico, he at laſt returned to Mobile.

28 The Cadodakios or Caddoes a diviſion of the Texas or Senis, are firſt mentioned (ante 31 n.), by Joutel, who, p. 278, makes them allies of the Aſſony, Natſohos and Nachitos. Father Anaſtaſius alſo deſcribes them *(Le Clercq Etab. de la Foi)*. They were then on Red River, where a few of the Caddoes and Natchitoches ſtill remain. Later writers ſhow their languages to be different *(Archæol. Americana*, II, 46). Some have endeavored to identify them with the Niſſohone and Naquizcoza and Nazacahoz, mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas as on the Daycao river, p. 110-2 (ed. 1844).

29 Kiouahaa, compare Cavelier's account (ante p. 74) where the Kouaras are mentioned.

ſeek in the ſettlement of the Miſſiſſipi, which overflows all the land for eighty leagues and more from its mouth, except ſome little cantons.

On the 10th we ſaid the maſs of St. Francis Xavier to begin the devotion of the Ten Fridays. The next day we reached the croſs which marks the village of the Baiougoula,[30] on the north of the Miſſiſſipi and 40 leagues from the Houmas. As the waters have been extremely high this year they have undermined the cliff more than ten feet along, ſo that the croſs has fallen with the earth that ſlid down. I did not go up to the village and it was only on my return from Bilocchi that I viſited the Baiougoula, who maſſacred the chief of the Mongoulacha with more than two hundred men of that nation, which was very friendly to the French and which formed a village with the Baiougoula as the Pioüaroüa do with the Kaſkaſkia. The blood of ſo many innocent perſons cries vengeance and God begins to puniſh them by famine and ſickneſs and they muſt be in fear leſt the Houmas and Kolapiſſas avenge the murder of all their allies. I never ſaw anything ſo beggarly. I know ſome words of their language; but as more than two thirds were abſent

30 The Baiougoulas and Mongoulachas were allies, but a diſpute ariſing the chief of the former planned a maſſacre of the Mongoulachas and almoſt exterminated them, but the Baiougoulas ſoon fell a victim to a ſimilar act of treachery in 1706, for having received the Tonicas into their village, they were ſurpriſed and almoſt all maſſacred by their perfidious gueſts. *La Harpe*, 98. Small pox ſwept off many of the warriors, and in 1721 not a family of them was known to exiſt. *Charlevoix*, III, 436. The name is Choctaw, and may be White oak people, from *baie*, white oak, *ogula* or *oklo*, nation.

from their village, whence they had been driven by hunger, I remained only four days. They promiſed to rebuild the chapel and do all that I aſked, but unleſs the chief is very far from there, there is not much for a miſſionary to do. I planted a large croſs on the bank inſtead of that carried away by the waters. They roſe twenty feet high.

Five leagues below the village you find on the north ſide a little arm of the Miſſiſſipi of which Mr. de la Salle ſpeaks, which he ſays has over thirty fathoms water and is very convenient for large veſſels; but M. de Iberville, who explored and ſounded it, did not find water enough for a boat. The more we approach the lower end of the Miſſiſſipi, the more we go eaſt and eaſt ſoutheaſt. We found alſo ſtronger currents and wretched cabinage, and in the tide waters potter's clay conſtantly; or elſe you muſt ſtrike far into the woods, which it is difficult to penetrate and not meet cane thickets out of which it is hard to get.

From the Natches we lived entirely on Indian corn and a few ſquaſhes, ſince for ſome time back we met in theſe parts neither buffalo, deer nor bear; and if we found any buſtards or wild geeſe, they were ſo lean that they were as taſteleſs as wood, which makes all our canoe men ſigh often for the river of the Illinois and the beauty of the country and landings and its plenty of buffalo and deer and all ſorts of fat and excellent game. It is a long voyage this down the Miſſiſſipi, very tedious and very dif-

ficult, eſpecially coming back, and very inconvenient on account of the gnats and other flies, called maringouins, brulots and mouſtiques, the great rains, the exceſſive heats, the wretched landings, in mud and potter's clay, often knee deep, and for the ſcanty fare. Unleſs you ſtart with a canoe half loaded with proviſions, you muſt expect to faſt well, and I could hardly believe that our Indians from above and from the Illinois country will come here to get goods ſuch a diſtance with ſo much toil and riſk. The periagua of the Baioügoulas which we met did not make over three or four leagues a day. They were badly clothed for the ſeaſon, for they had only half a deer ſkin to protect themſelves from the cold, and there was one old woman ſo wretched that ſhe had only a little moſs to cover herſelf. Many old people among all theſe Indians have no other clothing.

At laſt, on the 17th of December, I reached the Fort of the Miſſiſſipi,[31] after 68 days ſail down. This firſt eſtabliſhment is on the ſouth ſide of the river, eighteen leagues from its mouth. There is no fort nor baſtion, entrenchment or redoubt; all conſiſts of a battery of ſix guns, ſix and eight pounders, planted on the brow of the bluff, and of five or ſix cabins ſeparate from each other and covered with palm leaves. The commandant Mr. de Bienville has quite a nice little houſe there. I per-

31 Fort of the Miſſiſſippi was, it is ſaid, on Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below the city of New Orleans.

ceived on arriving that they began to cry *Famine*, and that the bread ſtuffs began to run out, which obliged me to take to Indian food ſo as to be a burthen to none, and put up with Indian corn without meat or fiſh till the veſſels come which are hardly expected before the end of March. If the Miſſiſſipi is ſettled they will tranſfer the fort, or rather they will build it at the Baiagoulas, forty leagues further up, for the high waters overflow ſo furiouſly here that they have been four months in the water often knee deep outſide of their cabins, although the Indians had aſſured them that this place was never inundated. The wheat which had been planted here was already quite high when the inundations cauſed by a furious ſwell of the ſea in the month of Auguſt ſwept it away. The garden was hardly more ſucceſsful, beſides there being a great quantity of black ſnakes that eat the lettuces and other vegetables off to the root. As for fort Bilocchi, thirty leagues from here, beſides the air being better there, the country more open, all kinds of garden vegetables can be raiſed. The deer are near and the hunting very good; and to temper the heat, which would be exceſſive, every day an hour or two before noon there comes a breeze from the ſea which they call the breeze that cools the air. There is only the water that is not very good. It is a little ſpring that ſupplies them; for that of the bay is more than brackiſh and is not drinkable. This bay, which gives name to the fort, takes its own from the Bilocchi Indians, who are neareſt to

it, and is called Bilocchi bay.[32] There are more than 120 men in this fort, which is very regular, with 12 pieces of cannon and as many pedereros planted on the baſtions. Only boats and the ferry boat which carries only a hundred tons can enter this bay; ſhips cannot come within five leagues of it and remain at anchor before an iſland where there is good anchorage and which is called Ship iſland. There is no port in all this country except Penſacola, of which the Spaniards have taken poſſeſſion, and where they had ſettled only three weeks before Mr. d' Iberville reached the coaſt. Fort Bilocchi is only thirty leagues from the Spaniſh fort. The governor's enterpriſe ſucceeded badly laſt year. Having advanced with two ſhips he was ſurpriſed to find four large veſſels at the anchorage and a ſtrong garriſon in the fort. He ſaid, out of politeneſs to the officers, that he was viſiting the coaſt to drive off the Engliſh. Mr. d' Iberville, who viſited the Miſſiſſipi, had cautioned them to act prudently with the Spaniards and to receive the governor well if he came on board, according to the orders which he himſelf had received from the court. He was regaled magnificently, *Vive le Roy de France*, *Vive leRoy d'Eſpagne*, *Vive Mr. d' Iberville*, with many a ſalute of the cannon, and on departing he left a

[32] Bilocchi or Biloxi, ſo named from a tribe ſo called, never rose to any importance. The poſition was ill choſen; the ground barren and ſhips could not reach it. It was finally abandoned for a new Biloxi, almoſt as unſucceſsful. The Biloxi Indians retired to Pearl river. *Charlevoix*, II, 449. A remnant is ſaid to exiſt near Natchitoches. *Archæologia Americana*, II, 115.

letter for Mr. d' Iberville. It was his propoſitions which he very well knew would be laughed at. He had hardly left our ſhips when he was ſtruck in the open ſea by a ſquall, which made his ſhip open and go down. He eſcaped in a boat with a few of his people and returned to our ſhips. Our officers diſplaying more regret than they felt, received him perfectly well, generouſly ſupplied him with everything and ſent him back in a double ſloop (*chaloupe double*) with all the oars and hats off to his fort at Penſacola. At his departure he was again ſaluted by a diſcharge of all our artillery.[33] He has been made grand maſter of all the artillery of Spain, and his major, who has been made governor, ſent a boat to Fort Bilocchi to M. de Sauvol to reclaim ten men by the new major, pretending that they had deſerted, but at bottom it was only to examine the fort, which does not fear them, and to come and get linen and goods, for they lack everything. They bought all they found and ſaid that they would return as ſoon as they knew our veſſels were in. Although we were ſhort of proviſions, at leaſt French flour (for pork, peas and beans are not ſcarce yet), the governor had the Indian corn hid away, and made French bread appear throughout the fort; he regaled the major perfectly with poultry, ſucking pig and veniſon, madeira wine. The crew was regaled in proportion, and when the major was going they gave him all kinds of refreſhments for

33 Don Andrés de Arriola, called in the French accounts *de la* Riole. *Enſayo Cronologico*, 316, 1.

his return, and a coſtly gun as a preſent to the new governor.

To go from here to Fort Bilocchi, you muſt on ſtarting make a portage of a good eighth of a league knee deep in mud and water, and take in a ſupply of water as much as you need to go to Bilocchi, for the little river you meet a quarter of a league from here is brackiſh, that is to ſay it is mingled with ſalt water. It empties into a lake two leagues acroſs and after running five or ſix leagues ſoutheaſt on the ſea along the iſles, you cut northweſt off the iſles till ſeven leagues from the fort, when you make the main land which you follow to the entrance of Bilocchi bay, in ſight of the fort where you muſt croſs.

I arrived there on the 1ſt day of the year 1700, and was well received by the governor. I found Father du Ru there. Beſides the functions of miſſionary he diſcharges alſo thoſe of chaplain in a very edifying manner. I ſpent only a week with him, and was eleven days in getting here through the fault of our guide who loſt his way, and made us loſe a favorable wind which would have brought us to the fort on the third day, but after uſing up our half barrel of water we filled it with brackiſh water, which troubled my canoe men much more than me, who accuſtom myſelf to drink hardly any when traveling. We all had poor fare, for we were reduced for four days to Indian corn alone, and it was as hard too after boiling all night in this ſalt water as when it was put into the kettle. We

went on the ſea or gulf of Mexico, from iſland to iſland, and the further we ſailed the more we got aſtray. In this extremity with our water almoſt out we commended ourſelves to God. I promiſed to make a novena in honor of St. Francis Xavier and to ſay maſs in thankſgiving as ſoon as I reached the fort. The next day we reëmbarked in our canoe, and at one o'clock in the afternoon we found ourſelves at Point Aleri which we had doubled four days before, whence we had cut to the iſlands off ſhore. We had made two long croſſings of five leagues to the S. S. E. and in ſight of the woods of the Miſſiſſipi. We at laſt, thank God, entered a river where we quenched our thirſt and which led us to an eighth of a league from the Miſſiſſipi, where we arrived ſafely and after an eighth of a league portage we found ourſelves eight leagues from the fort, where we arrived on the eleventh day after our departure from Bilocchi. But for the protection of St. Francis Xavier, we ſhould, I believe, have ſtill longer cruiſed around without water. I ſet out the next day for the Baiougoulas, who are forty leagues higher up; I did there only a part of what I had hoped, having found few people. God did me the grace to [allow me to] baptize a little dying child two years old, to which I opened heaven.

I have been back at this fort for four days. The arrival of the veſſels expected from day to day will decide me as to what I ſhall do, whether I ſhall await the arrival of Mr. d' Iberville or go up again

to the Illinois by the firſt canoes. No ſhip can enter the Miſſiſſipi if it draws over nine or ten feet water, for there are only eleven at the mouth. The entrance once paſſed, there is no ſhip but can ſail far up the river. There are 15 or 16 fathoms here, moſt of the ketches which draw only nine could go far up, for the Engliſh veſſel which Mr. d' Iberville found laſt year eight leagues from here drew ſtill leſs. The captain had as his guide the Relation of Mr. de la Salle[34] and ſome other very bad memoirs which mention the mouth of this river. This Engliſhman who ſpoke of it to Mr. de Bienville congratulated himſelf on having been able to find the entrance of the Miſſiſſipi, about which one of thoſe that wrote is an apoſtate,[35] who preſented to King William the Relation of the Miſſiſſipi where he never was, and after a thouſand falſehoods and ridiculous boaſts, pretends to ſhow the juſt claims and inconteſtable rights which King William has over the Miſſiſſipi, &c. He makes Mr. de la Salle appear in his Relation wounded with two balls in the head, turn towards the Recollect Father Anaſtaſe, to aſk him for abſolution (which he ſurely had not time to do) having been killed ſtark dead without uttering a word, and other like falſe ſtories.

34 The Relation here referred to is not very evident. La Salle publiſhed no account perſonally, and Hennepin, Tonti and Le Clerq, were the only publiſhed accounts at this date.

35 The work here alluded to is the *Nouvelle Découverte* of Hennepin, the fictitious character of much of which has been ſhown. There is nothing in his work to ſhow however that he left either the Franciſcan order or the Catholic church.

I do not know what the court will decide about the Miſſiſſipi, if no ſilver mines are found, for it does not ſeek lands to cultivate. There are few ſpots for more than eighty leagues hence which are not inundated at the great overflow of the Miſſiſſipi. They have not yet found the mines they ſought; they care little for thoſe of lead, which are very abundant near the Illinois and higher up in the Miſſiſſipi on the Scioux ſide. There are indeed many ſouls to gain to Chriſt, along the Miſſiſſipi, and ſtill more inland and on Red river, but there are more people in the ſingle miſſion of the Illinois than I have ſeen among the Tounika, Baiougoula and Houmas, and than there is among the Biloc-chis, among the Colapeſſas,[36] and among all the Indians of Mobile river who are between Fort Bilocchi and that of the Spaniards, and of the Panſacolas This will not prevent the miſſionaries from finding employment in every village, the Indians of which ſeem to me very docile. May it pleaſe the Lord to ſend them men whoſe zeal will open heaven to them and teach them the way. It is ſaid that aſcending the River of the Mobilians, numerous nations are found, but I have not been there.

When Mr. de la Salle came by ſea to ſeek the mouth of the Miſſiſſipi he went beyond it without perceiving it, till he was fifteen leagues beyond, and not wiſhing to appear to have miſtaken, he

[36] The Colapiſſas have entirely diſappeared. This name is Choctaw and is ſaid to mean, "Thoſe who hear and ſee," from *hoklo*, to hear, and *piſſa*, to ſee.

puſhed further on to eighty leagues hence, where he built a fort, and in the deſign of returning in triumph to the Illinois, he went from his fort to the Senis, inland Indians, and it was from their village that Mr. Cavalier, the prieſt, ſet out after his brother's tragic death to return overland to the Akanſea and thence in periaugue to the Illinois and at laſt to Kebec whence he embarked to return to France with four others.

The Spaniards ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Mr. de la Salle's fort, in which more than 150 perſons periſhed of famine and ſickneſs. The Spaniards took off the reſt of the French whom they found there and then came to the Senis, where they left twenty men with three Franciſcans, and whence they took two Frenchmen whom they found and who are at preſent at Fort Bilocchi.[37] It is from theſe two Frenchmen that we have learned what became of the ſad remnants of Mr. de la Salle's great equipment, for he had 400 men when he left St. Domingo to ſeek the mouth of the Miſſiſſipi. It was among the Senis that the murderers of Mr. de la Salle made themſelves Indians like them after ſome of them had killed each other.

Here is exactly, Reverend Father, the details of

37 Theſe were apparently Peter and John Talon, who reached France from Vera Cruz, Sept. 14, 1698, and whoſe examination is ſtill preſerved. Iberville took them out with him and they were for two years in Louiſiana in the King's ſervice. They then returned to France and were in 1704, as Iberville ſtates, "dans la priſon de Portugal," whether that means a Portugueſe priſon or ſome priſon at Paris bearing that name.

my voyage and all that I could learn on my route, and of all that I have ſeen and remarked, and of all that I have learned here from Mr. de Bienville, Mr. d' Iberville's brother, who has moſt explored the country. I add that it is to the willows and not to the mulberries that the ſilkworms attach themſelves and make their cocoons in this country. They could not make the firſt ſettlement in a ſpot where there are more muſquitoes than here. They are here almoſt the whole year. In ſooth they have given us little truce for ſeven or eight days, but at this moment they ſting me in cloſe ranks, and in the month of December, when you ought not to be troubled by them, there was ſuch a furious quantity that I could not write a word without having my hands and face covered, and it was impoſſible for me to ſleep the whole night. They ſtung me ſo in one eye that I thought I would loſe it. The French of this fort told me that from the month of March there is ſuch a prodigious quantity that the air was darkened with them and that they could not diſtinguiſh each other ten paces apart.

I remain here till the arrival of Mr. d' Iberville, as I am in ſome ſort obliged to ſerve as chaplain to the French who are in this fort and of whom ſeveral are Canadians. I have much to ſuffer from theſe importunate inſects till the month of May, and ſtill more remounting the river, ſince I ſhall not be able to do ſo till the number is ſo great that you cannot reſt by night nor land by day to cook your Indian corn without being devoured by them.

Bleſſed be God for all. I ſhould be content with all, coſt what it will, provided this voyage of over a thouſand leagues which I undertook for the good of our upper miſſions be of ſome uſe to them, as well as my delay which has been only the better to aſſure me of the truth.

Pray God for us, Reverend Father, and believe me with much reſpect in the love of our Lord,

Reverend Father,

Your very humble and
obedient ſervant,
JAMES GRAVIER.

Since this letter written a year ago laſt February (of this preſent year, 1702), the French abandoned the two poſts herein mentioned, on the Miſſiſſipi and on Bilocchi bay to ſettle at the river called Mobile from the name of the Indians who have their village called Mobilians. This river enters the ſea fifteen leagues this ſide of Bilocchi. There are two iſlands a ſhort diſtance from its mouth which form a port for ſhips, and aſcending in boats for fourteen leagues on the Mobile you find now a regular fort conſtructed by Mr. d' Iberville and houſes for the ſoldiers and for ſome French from Canada. The ſoil is very good. The plan of a city has been traced, which will be formed of French colonies to be ſent there if the court thinks fit. There are ſeveral villages of Indians, one, two and three days' journey from Fort Mobile, whom

the new miſſionaries will be able to inſtruct in our holy religion.

NOTE.

The inſcription which F. du Ru put at the foot of the croſs which he erected with Mr. d'Iberville on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi river, near the French fort.

D. O. M.

The French, as they had firſt come here, firſt
from Canada under De la Salle in the year 1682:
ſecondly from the ſame place under de Tonty
in the year 1685; thirdly from the ſeacoaſt under
d'Iberville, 1699; fourthly from the ſame place
under the ſame leader in the year 1700,
planted this croſs February 14 in the ſame year
1700. At the foot whereof an altar being erected
a prieſt of the ſociety of Jeſus on the ſame day
and year ſaid maſs and duly conſecrated
this encloſure for the burial of the dead.

V.

GUIGNAS'S VOYAGE UP THE MISSISSIPPI, 1728

GUIGNAS'S VOYAGE

UP THE MISSISSIPPI,

Extract from a Letter to the Marquis de Beauharnais[1] by the Reverend Father Guignas, Miſſionary of the Society of Jeſus, dated from the Miſſion of St. Michael the Archangel, at Fort Beauharnais, among the Sioux, May 29, 1728.

THE Sioux convoy[2] left the end of Montreal Iſland on the 16th of the month of June, laſt year, at 11 A. M. and reached Michilimackinac the 22d of the month of July. This poſt is 251 leagues from Montreal, almoſt due weſt, at 45° 46m. N. latitude.

1 The ſtatement found in many works, that the Marquis de Beauharnais was an illegitimate ſon of Louis XIV, is unfounded. The huſband of Joſephine was not deſcended from the Governor of Canada.

2 Under the command of the Sieur de Laperrière. (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix, 1016.)

We ſpent the reſt of the month at this poſt in the hopes of receiving from day to day ſome news from Montreal, and in the deſign of ſtrengthening ourſelves againſt the alleged extreme difficulties of getting a free paſſage through the Foxes. At laſt, ſeeing nothing, we ſet out on our march the 1ſt of the month of Auguſt and after 73 leagues quite pleaſant ſail along the northerly ſide of Lake Michigan, running to the S. E., we reached the Bay[3] on the 8th of the ſame month at 5½ P. M. This poſt is at 44° 43m. north latitude. We ſtopped there two days, and on the 11th in the morning we embarked in a very great impatience to reach the Foxes.

On the third day after our departure from the Bay, quite late in the afternoon, in fact ſomewhat in the night, the chiefs of the Puans[4] came out three leagues from their village to meet the French with their peace calumets, and ſome bear meat as a refreſhment, and the next day we were received by that ſmall nation (*tres peu nombreux*) amid ſeveral diſcharges of a few guns and amid great demonſtrations of joy.

They aſked us with ſo good a grace to do them the honor to ſtay ſome time with them, that we granted them the reſt of the day from noon and the following day.

There may be in all in this village ſixty to eighty men; but all men and women of very tall ſtature and well made. They are on the bank of a

3 Green Bay. 4 Winnebagoes.

very pretty little lake, in a moſt agreeable ſpot for its ſituation and the goodneſs of the ſoil, nineteen leagues from the Bay and eight leagues from the Foxes.

Early the next morning, the 15th of the month of Auguſt, the convoy prepared to continue its route with quite pleaſant weather; but a ſtorm coming on in the afternoon, we arrived quite wet, ſtill in the rain, at the cabins of the Foxes, a nation ſo much dreaded and really ſo little to be dreaded. From all that we could ſee, it is compoſed of 200 men at moſt, but there is a perfect hive of children, eſpecially boys from ten to fourteen years old, well made and formed. They are cabined on a little eminence on the bank of a ſmall river, that bears their name, extremely tortuous or winding, ſo that you are conſtantly boxing the compaſs. Yet it is apparently quite wide, with a chain of hills on both ſides, but there is only one miſerable little channel amid this extent of apparent bed, which is a kind of marſh full of ruſhes and wild rice of almoſt impenetrable thickneſs. They have nothing but mere bark cabins without any kind of paliſade or other fortification. As ſoon as the French canoes touched their ſhore, they ran down with their peace calumets lighted in ſpite of the rain, and all ſmoked.

We ſtaid among them the reſt of this day and all the next, to know what were their deſigns and ideas as to the French poſt among the Sioux. The Sieur Reaume, interpreter of Indian languages at the Bay, acted efficiently there and with devo

tion to the king's ſervice. Even if my teſtimony, Sir, ſhould be deemed not impartial, I muſt have the honor to tell you that Rev. Father Chardon,[5] an old miſſionary, was of very great aſſiſtance there, and the preſence of three miſſionaries who were there, reaſſured theſe cut throats and aſſaſſins of the French more than all the ſpeeches of the beſt orators could have done. A general council was convened in one of the cabins, they were addreſſed in decent and friendly terms, and they replied in the ſame way. A ſmall preſent was made to them. In their ſide they gave ſome quite handſome diſhes lined with dry meat.

On the following Sunday, 17th of the month of Auguſt, very early in the morning, Father Chardon ſet out with Sieur Reaume to return to the Bay, and the Sioux company greatly rejoiced to have ſo eaſily got over this difficulty, which had every where been repreſented as ſo inſurmountable, got under way to endeavor to reach its journey's end.

Never was navigation more tedious than what we ſubſequently made from uncertainty as to our courſe. No one knew it, and we got aſtray every moment on water and on land for want of a guide, and pilots. We kept on, as it were, feeling our way for eight days, for it was only on the 9th, about 3 o'clock P. M. that we arrived by accident,

5 Rev. John B. Chardon, of the Society of Jeſus, was on the Ottawa miſſion in 1703, and at the Miami miſſion of St. Joſeph's in 1711. Father Mareſt ſpeaks of him in high terms, and Charlevoix, who found him at Green Bay in 1721, does the ſame. At the time of this narrative he muſt have been nearly thirty years on the Weſtern miſſions.

believing ourſelves ſtill far off, at the Portage of the Ouiſcouſin, which is 45 leagues from the Foxes, counting all the twiſts and turns of this abominable river. This portage is half a league in length, and half of that is a kind of marſh full of mud.

The Ouiſcouſin is quite a handſome river, but far below what we had been told, apparently as thoſe who gave the deſcription of it in Canada ſaw it only in the high waters of ſpring. It is a ſhallow river on a bed of quickſand which forms bars almoſt everywhere, and theſe often change place. Its ſhores are either ſteep, bare mountains, or low points with ſandy baſe. Its courſe is from N. E. to S. W. From the portage to its mouth in the Miſſiſſipi, I eſtimated 38 leagues. The portage is at 43° 24m. north latitude.

The Miſſiſſipi from the mouth of the Ouiſcouſin aſcending goes northweſt. This beautiful river extends between two chains of high, bare and very ſterile mountains, conſtantly a league, three quarters of a league, or where it is narroweſt half a league apart. Its centre is occupied by a chain of well wooded iſlands, ſo that regarding from the heights above, you would think you ſaw an endleſs valley watered on the right and left by two large rivers; ſometimes, too, you could diſcern no river. Theſe iſlands are overflowed every year and would be adapted to raiſing rice. Fifty-eight leagues from the mouth of the Ouiſcouſin, according to my calculation, aſcending the Miſſiſſipi is Lake Pepin, which is nothing elſe but the river itſelf,

deſtitute of iſlands at that point, where it may be half a league wide. This river in what I traverſed of it is ſhallow and has ſhoals in ſeveral places, becauſe its bed is a moving ſand, like that of the Ouiſcouſin.

On the 17th of September, 1727, at noon, we reached this lake, which had been choſen as the bourne of our voyage. We planted ourſelves on the ſhore about the middle of the north ſide on a low point where the ſoil is excellent. The wood is very denſe there, but it is already thinned in conſequence of the rigor and length of the winter, which has been ſevere for the climate, for we are here on the parallel of 43° 41m. It is true that the difference of the winter is great compared to that at Quebec and Montreal; for all that ſome poor judges ſay.

From the day after our landing we put our axes to the wood; on the fourth day following the fort was entirely finiſhed.[6] It is a ſquare plat of 100 feet, ſurrounded by pickets twelve feet long with two good baſtions. For ſo ſmall a ſpace there are large buildings, quite diſtinct and not huddled together, each 30, 38 and 25 feet long by 16 feet wide. All would go well there if the ſpot were not inundated; but this year on the 15th of the month of April, we were obliged to camp out, and the water aſcended

6 Perrot took poſſeſſion of Lake Pepin, May 8, 1689 (ſee Act in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix, 418), Le Sueur and the Rev. J. J. Mareſt being preſent, and ſome ſuppoſe the exiſtence of a Fort Perrot at this time, but his trading poſt was eſtabliſhed at a later date in all probability.

to the height of two feet eight inches, in the houſes, and it is idle to ſay that it was the quantity of ſnow that fell this year. The ſnow in the vicinity had melted long before, and there was abſolutely only a foot and a half from the 8th of February to the 15th of March, all the reſt of the winter you could not uſe ſnow ſhoes.

I have great reaſon to think that this ſpot is inundated more or leſs every year; I have always thought ſo; but they were not obliged to believe me, as old people who ſaid they had lived fifteen or twenty years, declared that it was never overflowed. We could not enter our much devaſtated houſes till the 30th of the ſame month of April and the diſorder is ſcarcely repaired even now.[6]

Before the end of October all the houſes were finiſhed and furniſhed, and each one found himſelf tranquilly lodged at home. They then thought only of going out to explore the neighboring hills and rivers, to ſee thoſe herds of all kinds of deer, of which they tell ſuch ſtories in Canada. They muſt have retired or diminiſhed greatly ſince the time that the old *voyageurs* left the country; they are no longer in ſuch great numbers, and are killed with difficulty.

After beating the field for ſome time all reaſſembled at the fort, and thought only of enjoying a little the fruit of their labors.

On the 4th of the month of November we did

6 The waters did not however reach the Fort in 1728. (*Col. Doc.*, ix, 10, 16). (*N. Y.*

not forget that it was the General birthday.[7] Maſs was ſaid for him in the morning, and they were well diſpoſed to celebrate the day in the evening, but the tardineſs of the pyrotechniſts and the inconſtancy of the weather cauſed them to poſtpone the celebration to the 14th of the ſame month, when they ſet off ſome very fine rockets, and made the air ring with a hundred ſhouts of *Vive le Roy* and *Vive Charles de Beauharnois*. It was on this occaſion that the wine of the Sioux was broached; it was *par excellence*, although there are no vines here finer than in Canada. What contributed much to the amuſement was the terror of ſome cabins of Indians, who were at the time around the fort. When theſe poor people ſaw the fireworks in the air, and the ſtars fall from heaven, the women and children began to take flight, and the moſt courageous of the men to cry mercy and implore us very earneſtly to ſtop the ſurpriſing play of that wonderful medicine.

As ſoon as we arrived among them, they aſſembled in a few days around the French fort to the number of 95 cabins which might make in all 150 men; for they are at moſt two men in their portable cabins of dreſſed ſkins, and in many there is only one. This is all that we have ſeen except a band of about 60 men, who came on the 26th of the month of February, who were of thoſe nations called Sioux of the Prairies.

At the end of November the Indians ſet out for their winter quarters; they do not indeed go far, and

7 Or rather Saints' Day, being the feaſt of St. Charles Borromeo.

we ſaw ſome of them all through the winter, but from the ſecond of the month of April laſt, when ſome cabins repaſſed here to go in ſearch of them, [he] ſought them in vain during a week for more than ſixty leagues up the Miſſiſſipi. He arrived yeſterday without any tidings of them.

Although I ſaid above that the Sioux were alarmed at the rockets, which they took for new phenomena, it muſt not be ſuppoſed from that they are leſs intelligent than other Indians we know.

They ſeem to me more ſo, at leaſt they are much gayer and open apparently and far more dexterous thieves, great dancers and great medicine men. The men are almoſt all large and well made; but the women are very ugly and diſguſting, which does not however check debauchery among them, and is perhaps an effect of it.[8]

[8] Here, moſt unfortunately, ends the extract from the letter of Father Guignas as preſerved among the papers of the Geographer Buache, and now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Brevoort. The ſubſequent events in that region are of great intereſt, and we are eſpecially in the dark as to the movements of the party at Fort Beauharnois. In ſpite of Guignas' opinion of the Foxes, they continued hoſtilities, and in 1728, the year of this letter, de Ligneris marched againſt them. The traders had previouſly withdrawn to a great extent from Fort Beauharnois, and Father Guignas in attempting to reach the Illinois country fell into the hands of the Maſcoutens and Kickapoos, who ſided with the Foxes, and remained a priſoner for five months, narrowly eſcaping a death by torture at the ſtake. His captors then took him to the Illinois country and left him there on parole till November, 1729, when they led him back to their town. Nothing has yet appeared to ſhow whether he then returned to the Fort or whether he made his way to ſome other French poſt. In 1736 he again appears on Lake Pepin with M. de St. Pierre, perhaps the ſame to whom Waſhington at a later date preſented Dinwiddie's letter. Father Guignas ſigned his name, Louis Ignatius Guignas, but I have found nothing of his earlier or later hiſtory.

APPENDIX.

AFTER the firſt ſheets of this volume were printed, I received Thomaſſy's *Géologie Pratique de la Louiſiane*, which contains the original of the following extract from a

Letter of Mr. de la Salle to the Marquis de Seignelay.

WESTERN MOUTH OF THE RIVER COLBERT,
March 4, 1685.

My Lord:

.... The ſeaſon being far advanced and ſeeing that very little time was left me to accompliſh the enterprize I had undertaken, I reſolved to aſcend this channel of the river Colbert, rather than return to the more conſiderable one, diſtant twenty-five or thirty leagues from here northweſterly, which we had remarked on the 6th of January, but had been unable to recognize, believing from the ſtatement of the pilots of his majeſty's veſſel and ours, that we had not yet paſſed Eſpiritu Santo Bay (that of Mobile); but at laſt, after conſtantly coaſting along very near land and in good weather, the latitude made us perceive that they were miſtaken, and that what we had ſeen on the ſixth of January was in fact the main entrance of the river that we were ſeeking. If ſpring had not been ſo near, I would have gone back. Fear of ſpending the

reſt of the winter in running eaſtward, from which direction the winds blow almoſt conſtantly, and drive the current weſtward, made me reſolve to aſcend the river here, and to aſk Mr. de Beaulieu[1] to go and reconnoitre that other mouth to give an account of it to your Lordſhip. This one is ſituated at 28° 18′ or 20′ N. latitude: the channel is wide and deep within the bar, there being almoſt everywhere five or ſix fathoms of water. It is true that there are only two fathoms on the higheſt bank, at leaſt at this ſeaſon, when the river being frozen in all its branches has too little force to clear the channel and drive back the ſand which the ſea continually throws in. It is alſo to be remarked that when the wind has been long blowing off ſhore, the water diminiſhes ſo that ſometimes there remain only ten feet on the bar, as we remarked the day our four pilots ſounded there, of which they drew up a ſtatement. But when the water is driven back by winds from the gulf, there is as much as thirteen feet of water, eſpecially at the new moons, when the tides are greateſt at leaſt in winter. Theſe two channels iſſue from a very long and very wide bay into which the river Colbert empties. The water is as ſalt as that of the ſea. There is a tide there, and as you cannot ſee acroſs, it was eaſy for me to be deceived on landing and to take for ſea this expanſe of ſalt water, of which we could not ſee the end and which I could not croſs having only bark canoes. This kind of ſandy iſland which lies between the ſea and this ſalt lake, ſtopping

[1] The Count de Beaujeu, who bears much of the blame of La Salle's diſaſter (ante p. 17, 19), was a naval officer of diſtinction. At the battle of La Hogue, he commanded the St. Louis, bearing the Marſhal Count de Tourville. His nephew, Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, commanded the French force which defeated Braddock.

the force of the waves, the river has nothing to check its courſe, when it empties into it, and ſeems to form a very good port. But the channels by which it reaches the ſea are not ſo healthy on account of the ſand that the wind drives in.

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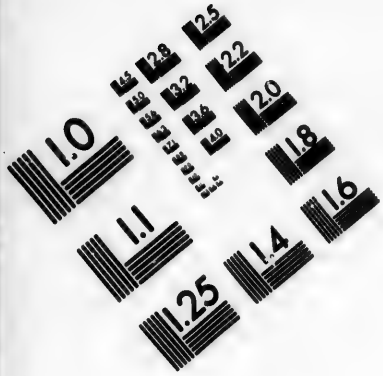

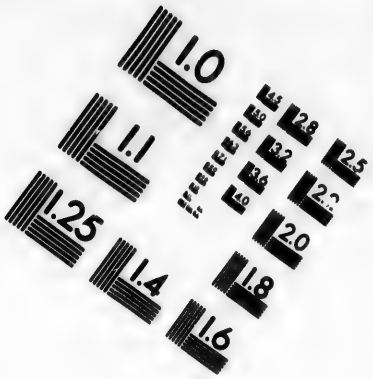

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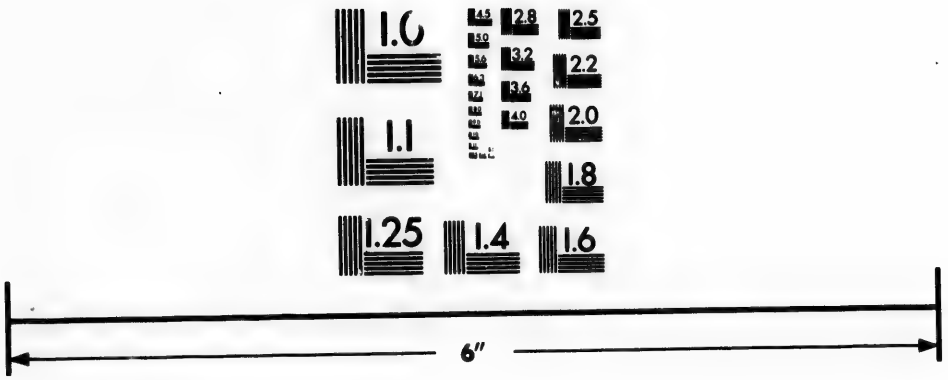

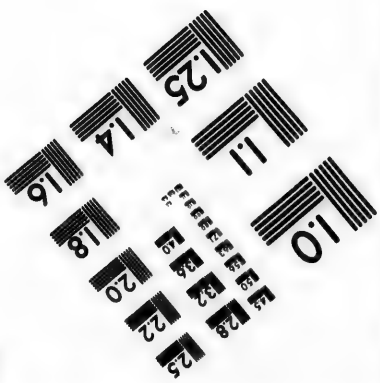

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